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VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

Anson's Voyage round the World

In the Years
1740, 1741, 1742, 1743, 1744

BY

RICHARD WALTER, M.A.

CHAPLAIN OF THE FLAG-SHIP *CENTURION*

LONDON

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and Glasgow and Dublin

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INTRODUCTION.

LORD ANSON, a narrative of the chief exploit of whose career is given in the following pages, was born at Shugborough, Staffordshire, in 1697. He entered the navy when fourteen years of age, and in 1716 was promoted to the rank of lieutenant, in which capacity he served on the *Montagu*, and was in the action of Cape Passaro. Thence he was transferred to the *Barfleur*, Sir George Byng's flagship, and in 1722 was raised to the rank of commander, this promotion being followed, eighteen months later, by his being made captain and appointed to the *Scarborough* frigate, in which vessel and the *Garland*, to which he succeeded in 1728, he spent the greatest part of the next six years on the coast of South Carolina for the protection of that seaboard and its commerce. After another period of service on the same station, Anson passed two years in England, and was then (1737) appointed to the *Centurion*, of 61 guns, and went to the west coast of Africa to protect the English trade against the encroachments of the French. From there he crossed over to the West Indies, whence he was recalled in 1739 to take the command of one of two squadrons that were to be sent to the Pacific. Ultimately, however, only one squadron went out, and of that Anson had charge. As the adventures and exploits of that squadron are fully described in the ensuing pages nothing need be said about them here, save that the enormous treasure which the *Centurion* brought home was paraded through London in a triumphal procession of thirty-two wagons, the ship's company marching with colours flying and band playing.

In addition to these material results of the expedition, it was held that Anson had by his circumnavigation of the globe greatly extended the knowledge of navigation and geography, and as a reward for his services he was made rear-admiral of the blue (1744). Nor did his good fortune end here, for in 1747, having utterly defeated the French admiral Jonquière, off Cape Finisterre, and captured £300,000 in specie, besides a number of men-of-war and merchant vessels, he was made Baron Anson of Soberton in Hampshire. Four years later he

became First Lord of the Admiralty, and in 1761 received the high dignity of Admiral of the Fleet. Not long, however, did he enjoy the distinction, dying rather suddenly on the 6th of June, 1762, at his country seat of Moer Park, Hampshire.

Anson has been represented as a man of a cold and calculating nature, without any great depth of affection; but even those who judge him most harshly in this respect cannot deny that he was in his profession a careful, painstaking, and thoughtful man, and of singularly accurate judgment. Moreover, that he was distinguished for his heroism, prudence, and humanity, the following pages amply attest. It is on record, too, that he was a sincerely religious man, and this may account in some degree for many of the nobler qualities he displayed, as well as for the high position to which he attained. Another point which has been referred to as telling greatly in Anson's favour is the fact that so many young officers, trained under him in the *Centurion*, afterwards became either honourably known or famous. "In the whole history of the navy (says one writer) there is not another instance of so many juniors from one ship rising to distinction,"—among the number being Saunders, Saumarez, Peirce Brett, Denis, Keppel, Hyde Parker, and John Campbell.

It is singular that the expedition here described gave occasion for the publication of three different books. One was the Narrative containing an account of the great distresses suffered by the crew of the *Wager* (which formed part of the squadron) on the coast of Patagonia. This was written by the Hon. John Byron, one of the officers, and an ancestor of Lord Byron. It has been much read and often re-published. Another work relating to the expedition was written by a schoolmaster who accompanied it. But neither of these—and indeed few books of seafaring adventure—has been so popular as Anson's own account of his Voyage Round the World; for, although Mr. Walter's name is placed on the title-page, neither he, nor one Robins who also claimed the honour, was anything more than editor, the record itself being mainly the work of Anson's own hand. Nothing further need be said in recommendation of the work, which, whether as regards the sufferings and hair-breadth escapes that were gone through, or the feats of daring perpetrated, reads more like a romance than a record of actual voyage and adventure.



VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

A SECRET EXPEDITION.

WHEN, in the latter end of the summer of the year 1739, it was foreseen that a war with Spain was inevitable, it was the opinion of some considerable persons then trusted with the administration of affairs, that the most prudent step the nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was to attack that crown in her distant settlements; for by this means it was supposed that we should cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and should reduce them to the necessity of sincerely desiring a peace, as they would thereby be deprived of the returns of that treasure by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.

In consequence of this opinion, several projects were examined and several resolutions were taken by the council, and it was determined that George Anson, Esq., then captain of the *Centurion*, should be employed as commander-in-chief of an expedition of this kind; and he at that time being absent on a cruise, a vessel was despatched to his station so early as the beginning of September, to order him to return with his ship to Portsmouth. Soon after his return, that is, on the 10th of November following, he received a letter from Sir Charles Wager, directing him to repair to London and to attend the Board of Admiralty, where, when he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles that two squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two secret expeditions, which, however, would have some connection with each other; that he, Mr. Anson, was intended to command one of them, and Mr. Cornwall the other; that the squadron under Mr. Anson was

to take on board three independent companies of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot; that Colonel Bland was likewise to embark with his regiment, and to command the land forces; and that, as soon as this squadron could be fitted for the sea they were to set sail, with express orders to touch at no place till they came to Java Head, in the East Indies; that there they were only to stop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manilla, situated on Luconia, one of the Philippine Islands; that the other squadron was to be of equal force with this commanded by Mr. Anson, and was intended to pass round Cape Horn into the South Seas, to range along that coast; and, after cruising upon the enemy in those parts, and attempting their settlements, was to rendezvous at Manilla, there to join the squadron under Mr. Anson, where they were to refresh their men and refit their ships, and perhaps receive orders for other considerable enterprises.

On this scheme Sir Charles Wager was so intent, that in a few days after this first conference, that is, on November 18, Mr. Anson received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Tryal sloop; and other orders were issued to him in the same month, and in the December following, relating to the victualling of this squadron. But Mr. Anson attending the Admiralty in the beginning of January, he was informed by Sir Charles Wager that, for reasons with which he, Sir Charles, was not acquainted, the expedition to Manilla was laid aside. It may be conceived that Mr. Anson was extremely chagrined at losing the command of so honourable, and in every respect so desirable an enterprise, especially, too, as he had already at a very great expense made the necessary provision for his own accommodation in this voyage, which, he had reason to expect, would prove a very long one. However, Sir Charles, to render this disappointment in some degree more tolerable, informed him that the expedition to the South Seas was still intended, and that he, Mr. Anson, and his squadron, as their first destination was now countermanded, should be employed in that service; and on the 10th of January he received his commission, appointing him commander-in-chief of the fore-mentioned squadron, which (the Argyle being changed for the Gloucester) was the same he sailed with above eight months after from St. Helen's. On this change of destination the equipment of the squadron was still prosecuted with as much vigour as ever,

and the victualling, and whatever depended on the Commodore, was soon so far advanced that he conceived the ships might be capable of putting to sea the instant he should receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. And at last, on the 28th of June, 1740, the Duke of Newcastle, Principal Secretary of State, delivered to him His Majesty's instructions, dated January 31, 1739, with an additional instruction from the Lords Justices, dated June 19, 1740. On the receipt of these, Mr. Anson immediately repaired to Spithead, with a resolution to sail with the first fair wind, flattering himself that all his difficulties were now at an end. For though he knew by the musters that his squadron wanted three hundred seamen of their complement, yet, as Sir Charles Wager informed him that an order from the Board of Admiralty was despatched to Sir John Norris to spare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of its being complied with. But on his arrival at Portsmouth he found himself greatly mistaken and disappointed in this persuasion; for, on his application, Sir John Norris told him he could spare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occasioned an inevitable and a very considerable delay, for it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means supplied, and all that was then done was extremely short of his necessities and expectation. For Admiral Balchen, who succeeded to the command at Spithead after Sir John Norris had sailed to the westward, instead of three hundred able sailors, which Mr. Anson wanted of his complement, ordered on board the squadron a hundred and seventy men only, of which thirty-two were from the hospital and sick quarter, thirty-seven from the Salisbury, with three officers of Colonel Lowther's regiment, and ninety-eight marines.

But the Commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already observed, that it was at first intended that Colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies of a hundred men each, should embark as land forces on board the squadron. But this disposition was now changed, and all the land forces that were to be allowed were five hundred invalids, to be collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital. As these out-pensioners consist of soldiers who, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of service in marching regiments, Mr. Anson was greatly chagrined at having such a decrepit detachment allotted to him, for he was fully persuaded that the greatest part of

them would perish long before they arrived at the scene of action, since the delays he had already encountered necessarily confined his passage round Cape Horn to the most rigorous season of the year. But, instead of five hundred, there came on board no more than two hundred and fifty-nine, for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth deserted, leaving behind them only such as were literally invalids, most of them being sixty years of age, and some of them upwards of seventy.

It was proposed to Mr. Anson, after it was resolved that he should be sent to the South Seas, to take with him two persons under the denomination of agent victuallers. Those who were mentioned for this employment had formerly been in the Spanish West Indies, in the South Sea Company's service; and it was supposed that, by their knowledge and intelligence on that coast, they might often procure provisions for him by compact with the inhabitants, when they were not to be got by force of arms. These agent-victuallers were, for this purpose, to be allowed to carry to the value of 15,000*l.* in merchandize on board the squadron; for they had represented that it would be much easier for them to procure provisions with goods than with the value of the same goods in money. Mr. Anson objected both to the appointment of agent-victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the squadron; for he conceived that, in those few amicable ports where the squadron might touch, he needed not their assistance to contract for any provisions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coast, he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the necessaries he should want, unless the military operations of his squadron were to be regulated by their trading projects.

But though the Commodore objected both to the appointment of these officers and to their project, of the success of which he had no opinion, yet as they had insinuated that their scheme, besides victualling the squadron, might contribute to settling a trade upon that coast, which might be afterwards carried on without difficulty, and might thereby prove a very considerable national advantage, they were much listened to by some considerable persons; and of the 15,000*l.* which was to be the amount of their cargo, the government agreed to advance them 10,000*l.* upon interest, and the remaining 5000*l.* they raised on bottomry bonds; and the goods purchased with this sum were all that were taken to

sea by the squadron, how much soever the amount of them might be afterwards magnified by common report.

This cargo was at first shipped on board the *Wager* store ship and one of the victuallers, no part of it being admitted on board the men-of-war. But when the Commodore was at St. Catherine, he considered that, in case the squadron should be separated, it might be pretended that some of the ships were disappointed of provisions, for want of a cargo to truck with; and therefore he distributed some of the least bulky commodities on board the men-of-war, leaving the remainder principally on board the *Wager*, where it was lost.

To supply the place of the two hundred and forty invalids which had deserted, as mentioned above, there were ordered on board two hundred and ten marines, detached from different regiments. These were raw and undisciplined men, for they were just raised, and had scarcely anything more of the soldier than their regimentals, none of them having been so far trained as to be permitted to fire. The last detachment of these marines came on board the 8th of August, and on the 10th the squadron sailed from Spithead to St. Helen's, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition.

But the delays we had already suffered had not yet spent all their influence; for we were now advanced into a season of the year when the westerly winds are usually very constant, and very violent; and it was thought proper that we should put to sea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral Balchen, and the expedition under Lord Cathcart. As we made up, in all twenty-one men-of-war, and a hundred and twenty-four sail of merchantmen and transports, we had no hopes of getting out of the Channel with so large a number of ships, without the continuance of a fair wind, for some considerable time. This was what we had every day less and less reason to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; so that our golden dreams, and our ideal possession of the Peruvian treasures, grew each day more faint. However, on the 9th of September, we were in some degree relieved from this lingering vexatious situation, by an order which Mr. Anson received from the Lords Justices, to put to sea the first opportunity, with his own squadron only, if Lord Cathcart should not be ready. Being thus freed from the troublesome company of so large a fleet, our Commodore resolved to weigh, and tide it down the Channel, as soon as the weather should become sufficiently moderate; and this might easily have been

done with our own squadron alone, full two months sooner, had the orders of the Admiralty for supplying us with seamen been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of those other delays already mentioned. It is true, our hopes of a speedy departure were even now somewhat damped, by a subsequent order, which Mr. Anson received on the 12th of September; for by that he was required to take under his convoy the *St. Alban's*, with the Turkey fleet, and to join the *Dragon* and the *Winchester* with the Straits and the American trade, at Torbay, or Plymouth, and to proceed with them to sea as far as their way and ours lay together. This incumbrance of a convoy gave us some uneasiness, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our passage to the *Madeiras*.

However, Mr. Anson, now having the command himself, resolved to adhere to his former determination, and to tide it down the Channel with the first moderate weather; and, that the junction of his convoy might occasion as little loss of time as possible, he immediately sent directions to Torbay, that the fleets he was there to take under his care might be in readiness to join him instantly on his approach. At last, on the 18th of September, he weighed from *St. Helen's* and though the wind was at first contrary, got clear of the Channel in four days.

CHAPTER II.

DOWN CHANNEL.

ON the 18th of September, 1740, the squadron weighed from *St. Helen's* with a contrary wind, the Commodore proposing to tide it down the Channel; as he dreaded less the inconveniences he should thereby have to struggle with, than the risk he should run of ruining the enterprise by an uncertain, and, in all probability, a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The squadron allotted to this service consisted of five men-of-war, a sloop-of-war, and two victualling ships. They were the *Centurion*, of sixty guns, four hundred men, George Anson, Esq., commander; the *Gloucester*, of fifty guns, three hundred men, Richard Norris, commander;

the Severn, of fifty guns, three hundred men, the Honourable Edward Legg, commander; the Pearl, of forty guns, two hundred and fifty men, Matthew Mitchell, commander; the Wager, of twenty-eight guns, one hundred and sixty men, Daniel Kidd, commander; and the Tryal sloop, of eight guns, one hundred men, the Honourable John Murray, commander; the two victuallers were pinks, the largest of about four hundred, and the other of about two hundred tons burthen. Besides the complement of men borne by the above-mentioned ships as their crews, there were embarked on board the squadron about four hundred and seventy invalids and marines, under the denomination of land-forces, which were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cracherode. With this squadron, together with the St. Alban's and the Lark, and the trade under their convoy, Mr. Anson, after weighing from St. Helen's, tided it down the Channel for the first forty-eight hours; and on the 20th, in the morning, we discovered off the Ram-head, the Dragon, Winchester, South-sea Castle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen under their convoy; these we joined about noon the same day, our Commodore having orders to see them as far out to the sea as their course and ours lay together.

When we had joined this last convoy, we made up eleven men-of-war, and about one hundred and fifty sail of merchantmen, consisting of the Turkey, the Straits and the American trade. Mr. Anson, the same day, made a signal for all the captains of the men-of-war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and sailing instructions, and then, with a fair wind, we all stood towards the south-west; and the next day at noon, being the 21st, we had run forty leagues from the Ram-head. Being now clear of the land, our Commodore, to render our view more extensive, ordered Captain Mitchell, in the Pearl, to make sail two leagues ahead of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his station every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Winchester and the American convoy made the concerted signal for leave to separate, which being answered by the Commodore, they left us; as the St. Alban's and the Dragon, with the Turkey and Straits convoy, did on the 29th; after which separation, there remained in company only our own squadron, and our two victuallers, with which we kept in our course

for the island of Madeira. But the winds were so contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our passage thither from St. Helen's, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. However, at last, on Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon came to an anchor in Madeira road, in forty-fathom water. We had hardly let go our anchor when an English privateer sloop ran under our stern, and saluted the Commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five; and, the next day, the Consul of the island visiting the Commodore, we saluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This island of Madeira is situated in a fine climate, in latitude $32^{\circ} 27'$ north, and longitude from London (by our different reckonings) $18\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ to $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west, though laid down in the charts 17° . It is composed of one continued hill, of a considerable height, extending itself from east to west; the declivity of which, on the south side, is cultivated and interspersed with vineyards; and in the midst of this slope the merchants have fixed their country seats, which helped to form a very agreeable prospect. There is but one considerable town in the whole island—it is named Funchal, and is seated on the south part of the island, at the bottom of a large bay. Towards the sea it is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, besides a castle on the Loo, which is a rock standing in the water at a small distance from the shore. Funchal is the only place of trade, and, indeed, the only place where it is possible for a boat to land; and even here the beach is covered with large stones, and a violent surf continually beats upon it; so that the Commodore did not care to venture the ships' long-boats to fetch the water off, there was so much danger of their being lost; and, therefore, ordered the captains of the squadron to employ Portuguese boats on that service.

We continued about a week at this island, watering our ships, and providing the squadron with wine and other refreshments. Here, on the 3rd of November, Captain Norris signified, by a letter to the Commodore, his desire to quit his command on board the Gloucester, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health. This request the Commodore complied with, and thereupon was pleased to appoint Captain Mitchell to command the

Gloucester in his room, and to remove Captain Kidd from the *Wager* to the *Pearl*, and Captain Murray from the *Tryal* sloop to the *Wager*, giving the command of the *Tryal* to Lieutenant Cheap. These promotions being settled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the Commodore, on the following day, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, to be the first place of rendezvous in case of separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the *Centurion* there, to make the best of their way to the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil. The water from the squadron being the same day completed, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the island of Madeira.

When Mr. Anson visited the Governor of Madeira, he received information from him that, for three or four days in the latter end of October, there had appeared to the westward of the island seven or eight ships of the line, and a patache, which last was sent every day close in to make the land. The Governor assured the Commodore that none upon the island had either given him intelligence, or had in any sort communicated with them; but that he believed them to be either French or Spanish. On this intelligence, Mr. Anson sent an officer in a clean sloop eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them, and, if possible, discover what they were; but the officer returned without being able to get a sight of them, so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we conjectured that this fleet was intended to put a stop to our expedition, which, had they cruised to the eastward of the island instead of the westward, they could have executed with great facility; for as, in that case, they must have certainly fallen in with us, we should have been obliged to throw overboard vast quantities of provision to clear our ships for an engagement; and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious, that we supposed that this French or Spanish squadron was sent out upon advice of our sailing in company with Admiral Balchen and Lord Cathcart's expedition; and thence, from an apprehension of being overmatched, they might not think it advisable to meet with us till we had parted company, which they might judge would not happen before our arrival at this island. We afterwards, in the course of our expedition, were persuaded that this was the Spanish

squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, which was sent out purposely to traverse the views and enterprises of our squadron, to which in strength they were greatly superior. As this Spanish armament, then, was so nearly connected with our expedition, I have in the following chapter given a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from Spain, in the year 1740, till the *Asia*, the only ship of the whole squadron which returned to Europe, arrived at the Groyne, in the beginning of the year 1746.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANISH SQUADRON.

THIS squadron was composed of the following men-of-war, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro:—The *Asia*, of sixty-six guns, and seven hundred men—this was the Admiral's ship; the *Guipuscoa*, of seventy-four guns, and seven hundred men; the *Hermiona*, of fifty-four guns, and five hundred men; the *Esperanza*, of fifty guns, and four hundred and fifty men; the *St. Estevan*, of forty guns, and three hundred and fifty men; and a *Patache* of twenty guns.

These ships, over and above their complement of sailors and marines, had on board a Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garrisons on the coast of the South Seas. When the fleet had cruised for some days to the leeward of the *Madeiras*, they left that station in the beginning of November, and steered for the river *Plata*, where they arrived the 5th of January (old style), and coming to an anchor in the bay of *Maldonado*, at the mouth of that river, their admiral, Pizarro, sent to *Buenos Ayres* for a supply of provisions. While they lay here expecting this supply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese Governor of *St. Catherine*, of Mr. Anson's having arrived at that island on the 21st of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Pizarro, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons for avoiding our squadron anywhere short of the South Seas; he was, besides, extremely desirous of getting round *Cape Horn* before us, as he imagined that step alone would effectually baffle all our

designs; and, therefore, on bearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we should soon be ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with the five large ships (the *Patache* being disabled and condemned) after a stay of seventeen days only; and got under sail without his provisions. But, notwithstanding the precipitation with which he departed, we put to sea from St. Catherine four days before him; and in some part of our passage to Cape Horn, the two squadrons were so near together, that the *Pearl*, one of our ships, being separated from the rest, fell in with the Spanish fleet, and, mistaking the *Asia* for the *Centurion*, had got within gun-shot of Pizarro before she discovered her error, and narrowly escaped being taken.

It being the 22nd of January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado, they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox.

The squadron, however, having, towards the latter end of February, run the length of Cape Horn, Pizarro stood to the westward, in order to double it; but in the night of the last day of February, while with this view they were turning to windward, the *Guipuscoa*, the *Hermiona*, and the *Esperanza*, were separated from the Admiral; and on the 6th of March following, the *Guipuscoa* was separated from the other two; and on the 7th there came on a most furious storm at N.W., which, in spite of all their efforts, drove the whole squadron to the eastward, and, after several fruitless attempts, obliged them to bear away for the river *Plata*, where Pizarro, in the *Asia*, arrived about the middle of May, and a few days after him the *Esperanza* and the *Estevan*. The *Hermiona* was supposed to have foundered at sea, for she was never heard of more; and the *Guipuscoa* was run ashore and sunk on the coast of Brazil.

The Spanish squadron, either from the hurry of their outset or from their presumption of a supply at Buenos Ayres, departed from Spain with no more than four months' provision on board, and even that, as it is said, at short allowance only: so that when, by the storms they met with off Cape Horn, their continuance at sea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were reduced to such distress, that rats, when they could be caught, were sold for four dollars apiece; and a sailor who died on board had his death concealed for some days by his brother, who, during that time, lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the

dead man's allowance of provisions. In this dreadful situation they were alarmed by the discovery of a conspiracy among the marines on board the *Asia*, the Admiral's ship. This had taken its rise chiefly from the miseries they endured; for the conspirators proposed to massacre the officers and the whole crew, yet their motives for this resolution seemed to be no more than their desire of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the whole ship's provisions to themselves; but their designs were prevented by means of one of their confessors; and three of the ringleaders were put to death. However, though the conspiracy was suppressed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but grew each day more and more destructive; so that, by the complicated distress of fatigue, sickness, and hunger, the three ships which escaped lost the greatest part of their men. The *Asia* arrived at Monte Video with half her crew only; the *St. Estevan* had lost half her hands when she anchored in the bay of Barragan; the *Esperanza* was still more unfortunate, for, of her four hundred and fifty hands, only fifty-eight remained alive, and the whole regiment of foot perished, except sixty men. But to give the reader a better idea of what they underwent upon this occasion, I shall lay before him a short account of the fate of the *Guipuscoa*, extracted from a letter written by Don Joseph Mindinuetta, her captain, to a person of distinction at Lima, a copy of which afterwards fell into our hands.

He mentions, that he separated from the *Hermiona* and the *Esperanza* in a fog on the 6th of March, being then to the S.E. of Staten Land, and plying to the westward; that in the night after it blew a furious storm at N.W., which, at half-past ten, split his main-sail, and obliged him to bear away with his fore-sail; that the ship went ten knots an hour with a prodigious sea, and often ran her gangway under water; that he likewise sprung his main-mast, and the ship made so much water, that with four pumps and baling, he could not free her; that on the 9th it was calm, but the sea continued so high that the ship, in rolling, opened all her upper works and seams, and started the butt-ends of her planking and the greatest part of her top timbers; that in this condition, with other additional disasters to the hull and rigging, they continued beating to the westward till the 12th; that they were then in sixty degrees of south latitude, in great want of provisions, numbers every day perishing by the fatigue of pumping, and those who survived being quite dispirited by

labour, hunger, and the severity of the weather (having two spans of snow upon the decks); that then, finding the wind fixed in the western quarter and blowing strong, they resolved to bear away for the river Plata; that on the 22nd they were obliged to throw overboard all the upper-deck guns and an anchor, and to take six turns of the cable round the ship to prevent her opening; that on the 4th of April, it being calm, but a very high sea, the ship rolled so much that the main-mast came by the board, and in a few hours after she lost in like manner her fore-mast and her mizzen-mast; and that they were soon obliged to cut away their bowsprit, to diminish, if possible, the leakage at her head; that by this time they had lost two hundred and fifty men by hunger and fatigue, for those who were capable of working at the pumps were allowed only an ounce and a half of biscuit *per diem*, while those who were sick had no more than an ounce of wheat; so that it was common for the men to fall down dead at the pumps; that, including the officers, they could only muster from eighty to a hundred persons capable of duty; that the south-west winds blew so fresh, after they had lost their masts, that they could not immediately set up jury-masts, but were obliged to drive like a wreck, between the latitudes of 32° and 28°, till the 24th of April, when they made the coast of Brazil, at Rio de Plata, ten leagues to the southward of the island of St. Catherine; that here they came to an anchor, and that the captain was very desirous of proceeding to St. Catherine, if possible, in order to save the hull of the ship, with the guns and stores; but the crew instantly left off pumping, and, being enraged at the hardships they had suffered, they all with one voice cried out, "ON SHORE! ON SHORE!" and obliged the captain to run the ship in directly for the land, where the fifth day after she sunk, with her stores and all her furniture on board her; but the remainder of the crew, whom hunger and fatigue had spared, to the number of four hundred, got safe on shore.

From this account of the adventures and catastrophe of the *Guipuscoa*, we may conjecture the manner in which the *Hermiona* was lost, and the distresses endured by the three remaining ships of the squadron, which got into the river Plata. These last being in great want of masts, yards, rigging, and all kind of naval stores, and having no supply at Buenos Ayres, Pizarro despatched an advice-boat with a letter of credit to Rio Janeiro to purchase what was wanting from

the Portuguese. He, at the same time, sent an express across the continent to St. Jago, in Chili, to be thence forwarded to the viceroy of Peru, informing him of the disasters that had befallen his squadron, and desiring a remittance of 200,000 dollars from the royal chests at Lima, to enable him to victual and refit his remaining ships, that he might be again in a condition to attempt the passage to the South Seas, as soon as the season of the year should be favourable. It is mentioned by the Spaniards, as a most extraordinary circumstance, that the Indian charged with this express (though it was then the depth of winter, when the Cordilleras are esteemed impassable on account of the snow) was only thirteen days in his journey from Buenos Ayres to St. Jago, in Chili, though these places are distant three hundred Spanish leagues, near forty of which are amongst the snows and precipices of the Cordilleras.

The return to this despatch of Pizarro's, from the viceroy of Peru, was no ways favourable; instead of 200,000 dollars, the sum demanded, the viceroy remitted him only 100,000, telling him that it was with great difficulty he was able to procure him even that.

The advice-boat sent to Rio Janeiro also executed her commission but imperfectly; for though she brought back a considerable quantity of pitch, tar, and cordage, she could not procure either masts or yards; and, as an additional misfortune, Pizarro was disappointed of some masts he expected from Paraguay; for a carpenter, whom he entrusted with a large sum of money, and sent there to cut masts, instead of prosecuting the business he was employed in, married in the country, and refused to return. However, by removing the masts of the *Esperanza* into the *Asia*, and making use of what spare masts and yards they had on board, they made a shift to refit the *Asia* and the *St. Estevan*; and in the October following, Pizarro was prepared to put to sea with these two ships, in order to attempt the passage round Cape Horn a second time; but the *St. Estevan*, in coming down the river *Plata*, ran on a shoal and beat off her rudder, on which, and other damages she received, she was condemned and broke up, and Pizarro proceeded to sea without her. Having now the summer before him, and the winds favourable, no doubt was made of his having a fortunate and speedy passage; but, being off Cape Horn, and going right before the wind in very moderate weather, though in a swelling sea, by some misconduct of the officer of the watch, the ship rolled away her

masts, and was a second time obliged to put back to the river Plata in great distress.

The *Asia*, having considerably suffered in this second unfortunate expedition, the *Esperanza* was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the *Guipuscoa* when she was lost. He, in November, 1742, sailed from the river Plata for the South Seas, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili, where his Commodore, Pizarro, passing overland from Buenos Ayres, met him. There were great animosities and contests between these two gentlemen at their meeting, occasioned, principally, by the claim of Pizarro to command the *Esperanza*, for Mindinuetta refused to deliver her up to him, insisting that, as he came into the South Seas alone, and under no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume that authority which he had once parted with. However, the President of Chili interposing and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta was obliged to submit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the series of his adventures; for when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1745, they found at Monte Video the *Asia*, which, near three years before, they had left there. This ship they resolved, if possible, to carry to Europe; and with this view they refitted her in the best manner they could. But their great difficulty was to procure a sufficient number of hands to navigate her; for all the remaining sailors of the squadron to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres did not amount to a hundred men. They endeavoured to supply this defect by pressing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board besides, all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers whom they had taken at different times, and some Indians. Among these last was a chief and ten of his followers, who had been surprised by a party of Spanish soldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana; he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motley crew, Pizarro set sail from Monte Video about the beginning of November, 1745; and the native Spaniards, being no strangers to the dissatisfaction of their forced men, treated both these, the English prisoners and the Indians, with great insolence and barbarity; but more particularly the Indians, for it was

common for the meanest officers in the ship to beat them most cruelly on the slightest pretences. Orellana and his followers, though in appearance sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for all these inhumanities. As he conversed very well in Spanish, he sounded the Englishmen, but not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no further with them, but resolved to trust alone to the resolution of his ten followers. These, it would seem, readily engaged to execute whatever commands he gave them; and having agreed on the measures necessary to be taken, they first furnished themselves with Dutch knives, sharp at the point, which being the common knives used in the ship, they found no difficulty in procuring. Besides this, they employed their leisure in secretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, and in fixing to each end of these thongs the double-headed shot of the small quarter-deck guns; this, when swung round their heads, according to the practice of their country, was a most mischievous weapon, in the use of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and consequently are very expert. Being thus prepared, the execution of their scheme was precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himself. One of the officers ordered Orellana aloft, which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his disobedience, beat him with such violence that he left him bleeding on deck, and stupefied for some time with his bruises and wounds. This usage heightened his thirst for revenge, and made him impatient till the means of executing it were in his power; and within a day or two an opportunity presented itself.

It was about nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck; the waist of the ship was filled with live cattle, and the fore-castle manned with its customary watch. Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons and thrown off the more cumbrous part of their dress, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this, Orellana spoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief and the six remaining Indians seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gang-

way, Orellana placed his hands to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry used by those savages. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre; for, on this, they all drew their knives, and brandished their prepared double-headed shot; and the six, with their chief, who remained on the quarter-deck, immediately fell on the Spaniards, who were intermingled with them, and laid nearly forty of them at their feet, of which above twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled. Many of the officers, in the beginning of the tumult, rushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricaded the door; whilst of the others who had avoided the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape along the gangways into the fore-castle, where the Indians, placed on purpose, stabbed the greatest part of them as they attempted to pass by, or forced them off the gangways into the waist. Some threw themselves voluntarily over the barricades into the waist, and thought themselves fortunate to lie concealed amongst the cattle; but the greatest part escaped up the main shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or rigging. And though the Indians attacked only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the fore-castle, finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of the few who, not being killed on the spot, had strength sufficient to force their passage, and not knowing either who their enemies were, or what were their numbers, they likewise gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the fore-mast and bowsprit.

Thus these eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves, almost in an instant, of the quarter-deck of a ship mounting sixty-six guns, and manned with near five hundred hands, and continued in possession of this post a considerable time. For the officers in the great cabin (amongst whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta), the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own safety, and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection, and recovering possession of the ship. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obscurity of the night, had at first greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with imaginary terrors, which darkness, disorder, and the ignorance of the real strength of an enemy, never fail to produce. For, as the Spaniards, were sensible of

the disaffection of their prest hands, and were also conscious of their barbarity to their prisoners, they imagined the conspiracy was general, and considered their own destruction as inevitable; so that, it is said, some of them had once taken the resolution of leaping into the sea, but were prevented by their companions.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided; for those who had escaped were kept silent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. Orellana, when he saw himself master of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm-chest, which, on a slight suspicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greatest security. Here he took it for granted he should find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, in the use of which weapon they were all extremely skilful, and with these it was imagined they proposed to have forced the great cabin; but, on opening the chest, there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no use. There were indeed cutlasses in the chest, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a sensible disappointment to them; and, by this time, Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin were capable of conversing aloud through the cabin-windows and port-holes with those in the gun-rooms and between decks, and from hence they learnt that the English (whom they principally suspected) were all safe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny; and they at last discovered that none were concerned in it but Orellana and his people. On this, Pizarro and the officers resolved to attack them on the quarter-deck, before any of the discontented on board should so far recover their first surprise as to reflect on the facility and certainty of seizing the ship by a junction with the Indians in the present emergency. With this view Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, and distributed them to those who were with him: but there were no other fire-arms to be met with but pistols, and for these they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now settled a correspondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin-window, into which the gunner, out of one of the gun-room ports, put a quantity of pistol cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, they set the cabin-door partly open, and fired several shot amongst the Indians on the quarter-deck, though at first with-

out effect; but, at last, Mindinuetta had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot; on which his companions, abandoning all thoughts of further resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, where every man perished.

Pizarro, having escaped this imminent peril, steered for Europe, and arrived safe on the coast of Galicia in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been absent between four and five years, and having, by his attendance on our expedition, diminished the naval power of Spain by above three thousand hands, and by four considerable ships of war and a patache.

CHAPTER IV.

CROSSING THE LINE.

I HAVE already mentioned that on the 3rd of November we weighed from Madeira, after orders had been given to the captains to rendezvous at St. Jago, in case the squadron was separated. But the next day, when we got to sea, the Commodore considering that the season was far advanced, and that touching at St. Jago would create a new delay, he, for this reason, thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the island of St. Catherine, on the coast of Brazil, to be the first place to which the ships of the squadron were to repair, in case of separation.

On the 16th of November one of our victuallers made a signal to speak with the Commodore, and we shortened sail for her to come up with us. The master came on board, and acquainted Mr. Anson that he had complied with the terms of his charter-party, and desired to be unloaded and dismissed. Mr. Anson, on consulting the captains of the squadron, found all the ships had still such quantities of provision between their decks that they could not without great difficulty take in their several proportions of brandy from the Industry Pink, one of the victuallers only; consequently, he was obliged to continue the other of them, the Anna Pink, in the service of attending the squadron. The Commodore the next day made a signal for the ships to bring to, and to take on board their shares of the brandy from the Industry Pink; and in this the long-boats of the squadron were employed till the 19th, when

the *Pink* parted company with us, being bound for Barbadoes, there to take in a freight for England. Most of the officers of the squadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ship; but she was afterwards unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November the captains of the squadron represented to the Commodore that their ships' companies were very sickly, and that it was their own opinion as well as their surgeon's, that it would tend to the preservation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ships were so deep, they could not possibly open their lower ports. On this representation the Commodore ordered six air-scuttles to be cut in such places where they would least weaken it.

We crossed the equinoctial line with a fine fresh gale at S.E., on the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the longitude of $27^{\circ} 59'$ west from London; and on the 2nd of December, in the morning, we saw a sail in the N.W. quarter, and made the *Gloucester's* and *Tryal's* signals to chase. Half an hour after we let out our reefs and chased with the squadron; and about noon a signal was made for the *Wager* to take our remaining victualler in tow. But at seven in the evening, finding we did not wear the chase, and that the *Wager* was very far astern, we shortened sail, and made a signal for the cruisers to join the squadron. The next day but one we again discovered a sail, which, on a nearer approach, we judged to be the same vessel. We chased her the whole day, and, though we rather gained upon her, yet night came on before we could overtake her, which obliged us to give over the chase, to collect our scattered squadron. We were much chagrined at the escape of this vessel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice-boat from Spain, to Buenos Ayres with notice of our expedition. But we have since learned that it was our East India Company's packet bound to St. Helena.

On the 10th of December, being, by our accounts, in the latitude of 20° S. and $36^{\circ} 30'$ longitude west, the *Tryal* fired a gun to denote soundings. We immediately sounded, and found sixty-fathom water, the bottom coarse ground with broken shells. The *Tryal*, being ahead of us, had at one time thirty-seven fathom, which afterwards increased to ninety; and then she found no bottom, which happened to us, too, on our second trial, though we sounded with a hundred and fifty fathom of line. This is the shoal which is laid down in most charts by the name of the Abrollos; and it appeared we were

upon the very edge of it: perhaps farther in it may be extremely dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to sixty leagues east of the coast of Brazil. We found a considerable current setting to the southward after we had passed the latitude of 16° S.; and the same took place all along the coast of Brazil, and even to the southward of the river Plata, it amounting sometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles.

We now began to grow impatient for a sight of land, both for the recovery of our sick and for the refreshment and security of those who, as yet, continued healthy. When we departed from St. Helen's we were in so good a condition that we lost but two men on board the Centurion in our long passage to Madeira; but in this present run between Madeira and St. Catherine, we were remarkably sickly, so that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, both in our own ship and in the rest of the squadron, and several of these past all hopes of recovery. The disorders they in general laboured under were such as are common to hot climates, and what most ships bound to the southward experience in a greater or less degree. These are those kinds of fevers which they usually call calentures, a disease which was not only terrible in its first instance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to those who considered themselves as recovered from it; for it always left them in a very weak and helpless condition. By our continuance at sea all these complaints were every day increasing, so that it was with great joy we discovered the coast of Brazil on the 16th of December, at seven in the morning.

The coast of Brazil appeared high and mountainous land, extending from W. to W.S.W., and when we first saw it, it was about seventeen leagues distant. At noon we perceived a low double land, bearing W.S.W., about ten leagues distant, which we took to be the island of St. Catherine. That afternoon and the next morning, the wind being N.N.W., we gained very little to windward, and were apprehensive of being driven to leeward of the island; but a little before noon the next day the wind came about to the southward, and enabled us to steer in between the north point of St. Catherine and the neighbouring island of Alvoredo. As we stood in for the land we had regular soundings, gradually decreasing from thirty-six to twelve fathom, all muddy ground. In this last depth of water we let go our anchor at five o'clock in the

evening of the 18th, the north-west point of the island of St. Catherine bearing S.S.W., distant three miles; and the island Alvoredo N.N.E., distant two leagues.

We could, from our ships, observe two fortifications at a considerable distance within us which seemed designed to prevent the passage of an enemy between the island of St. Catherine and the main; and we could perceive that our squadron had alarmed the coast, for we saw the two forts hoist their colours and fire several guns, which we supposed were signals for assembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confusion, the Commodore immediately sent a boat with an officer on shore, to compliment the governor, and to desire a pilot to carry us into the road. The governor returned a very civil answer, and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th we weighed and stood in, and towards noon the pilot came on board us, who, the same afternoon, brought us to an anchor in five fathoms and a half, in a large commodious bay, on the continent side, called by the French, Bon Port.

The next morning we weighed again with the squadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the castles of Santa Cruz and St. Juan. As we passed by the castle of Santa Cruz we saluted it with eleven guns, and were answered by an equal number; and at one in the afternoon the squadron came to an anchor in five fathoms and a half. In this position we moored at the island of St. Catherine, on Sunday, the 21st of December.

CHAPTER V.

REFITTING AT ST. CATHERINE.

OUR first care, after having moored our ships, was to get our sick men on shore, preparatory to which, each ship was ordered by the Commodore to erect two tents; one of them for the reception of the diseased, and the other for the accommodation of the surgeon and his assistants. We sent about eighty sick from the Centurion, and the other ships, I believe, sent nearly as many, in proportion to the number of their hands. As soon as we had performed this necessary duty, we scraped our decks and gave our ship a thorough cleaning;

then smoked it between decks, and washed every part well with vinegar. These operations were extremely necessary for correcting the noisome stench on board, and destroying the vermin; for, from the number of our men and the heat of the climate, both these nuisances had increased upon us to a very loathsome degree. Our next employment was wooding and watering our squadron, caulking our ships' sides and decks, overhauling our rigging, and securing our masts against the tempestuous weather we were likely to meet with in our passage round Cape Horn at so advanced a season.

The island of St. Catherine is esteemed by the natives to be nowhere above two leagues in breadth, though about nine in length; it lies in $49^{\circ} 45'$ west long., and extends from lat. $27^{\circ} 35'$ south to 28° . Although of a considerable height, it is scarce discernible at the distance of ten leagues, being then obscured under the continent of Brazil, whose mountains are exceeding high; but on a nearer approach it is easy to be distinguished, and may be readily known by a number of small islands lying at each end, and scattered along the east side of it.

The north entrance of the harbour is in breadth about five miles, and the distance from thence to the island of St. Antonio is eight miles. About the middle of the island the harbour is contracted by two points of land to a narrow channel, no more than a quarter of a mile broad.

The soil of the island is truly luxuriant, producing fruits of many kinds spontaneously; and the ground is covered with one continued forest of trees of a perpetual verdure, which, from the exuberance of the soil, are so entangled with briars, thorns, and underwood, as to form a thicket absolutely impenetrable, except by some narrow pathways, which the inhabitants have made for their own convenience. These, with a few spots cleared for plantations along the shore, facing the continent, are the only uncovered parts of the island. The woods are extremely fragrant, from the many aromatic trees and shrubs with which they abound; and the fruits and vegetables of all climates thrive almost without culture, and are to be procured in great plenty; so that here is no want of pine-apples, peaches, grapes, oranges, lemons, citrons, melons, apricots, nor plantains. There is, besides, great abundance of two other productions of no small consideration for a sea-store—I mean onions and potatoes. The flesh provisions are, however, much inferior to the vegetables:

there are, indeed, small wild cattle to be purchased, somewhat like buffaloes, but these are very indifferent food, their flesh being of a loose texture, and generally of a disagreeable flavour, which is probably owing to the wild calabash on which they feed. There are, likewise, great plenty of pheasants, but they are not to be compared in taste to those we have in England. The other productions of the place are monkeys, parrots, and, above all, fish of various sorts; these abound in the harbour, are exceeding good, and are easily caught, for there are a great number of small sandy bays very convenient for hauling the seine.

The water, both on the island and the opposite continent, is excellent, and preserves at sea as well as that of the Thames; for, after it has been in the cask a day or two, it begins to purge itself, and stinks most intolerably, and is soon covered over with a green scum; but this in a few days subsides to the bottom, and leaves the water as clear as crystal, and perfectly sweet.

These are the advantages of the island of St. Catherine; but there are many inconveniences attending it, partly from its climate, but more from its new regulations, and the late form of government established there. With regard to the climate, it must be remembered that the woods and hills which surround the harbour prevent a free circulation of the air. And the vigorous vegetation which constantly takes place there, furnishes such a prodigious quantity of vapour, that all the night, and a great part of the morning, a thick fog covers the whole country, and continues till either the sun gathers strength to dissipate it, or it is dispersed by a brisk sea-breeze. This renders the place close and humid, and probably occasioned the many fevers and fluxes we were there afflicted with. To these exceptions I must not omit to add, that all the day we were pestered with great numbers of mosquitoes, which are not much unlike the gnats in England, but more venomous in their stings. And at sunset, when the mosquitoes retired, they were succeeded by an infinity of sand-flies, which, though scarce discernible to the naked eye, make a mighty buzzing, and wherever they bite, raise a small bump in the flesh, which is soon attended with a painful itching, like that arising from the bite of an English harvest-bug.

When we first arrived at St. Catherine, we were employed in refreshing our sick on shore, in wooding and watering the squadron, and examining and securing our masts and rigging.

At the same time Mr. Anson gave directions that the ships' companies should be supplied with fresh meat, and that they should be victualled with whole allowance of all kinds of provision. In consequence of these orders, we had fresh beef sent on board us continually for our daily expense.

The season of the year growing each day less favourable for our passage round Cape Horn, Mr. Anson was very desirous of leaving this place as soon as possible; and we were first in hopes that our whole business would be done, and we should be in readiness to sail, in about a fortnight from our arrival; but on examining the Tryal's masts, we found inevitable employment for twice that time; for, on a survey, it was discovered that the main-mast was sprung at the upper moulding, though it was thought capable of being secured by a couple of fishes. But the fore-mast was reported to be unfit for service, and thereupon the carpenters were sent into the woods, to endeavour to find a stick proper for a fore-mast: but, after a search of four days, they returned without having been able to meet with any tree fit for the purpose. This obliged them to come to a second consultation about the old fore-mast, when it was agreed to endeavour to secure it by casing it with three fishes; and in this work the carpenters were employed, till within a day or two of our sailing.

On the 27th of December we discovered a sail in the offing; and not knowing but she might be a Spaniard, the eighteen-oared boat was manned and armed, and sent, under the command of our second lieutenant, to examine her, before she arrived under the protection of the forts: she proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande. And though our officer had behaved with the utmost civility to the master, and had refused to accept a calf, which the master would have forced upon him as a present, yet the governor took great offence at our sending our boat, and talked of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace subsisting between the crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We at first imputed this blustering to a cause no deeper than Don Jose's insolence; but as we found he proceeded so far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the vessel by violence the very calf which we knew he had refused to receive as a present, we had hence reason to suspect that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it than the mere captious bias of his temper. What these motives were, it was not easy

for us to determine at that time; but as we afterwards found, by letters which fell into our hands, that he had despatched an express to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our squadron's arrival at St. Catherine, together with the most ample intelligence of our force and condition, we conjectured that Don Jose had raised this groundless clamour only to prevent our visiting the brigantine when she should put to sea again, lest we might there find proof of his perfidious behaviour, and perhaps, at the same time, discover the secret of his smuggling correspondence with his neighbouring governors and the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres.

It was near a month before the Tryal was refitted; for, not only her lower masts were defective, but her main top-mast and fore-yard were likewise decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ships of the squadron fixed new standing rigging and set up a sufficient number of preventer shrouds to each mast, to secure them in the most effectual manner. And in order to render the ships stiffer, and to enable them to carry more sail abroad, and to prevent their straining their upper works in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him to strike down some of their great guns into the hold. These precautions being complied with, and each ship having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the Tryal was at last completed, and the whole squadron was ready for sea; on which the tents on shore were struck, and all the sick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthiness of this place had been overrated; for we found that though the Centurion alone had buried no less than twenty-eight men since our arrival, the number of her sick was in the same interval increased from eighty to ninety-six. When our crews were embarked, and everything was prepared for our departure, the Commodore made a signal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the successive places of rendezvous from hence to the coast of China; and then, on the next day, being the 18th of January, the signal was made for weighing, and the squadron put to sea.

CHAPTER VI.

SQUALLY WEATHER.

IN leaving St. Catherine we left the last amicable port we proposed to touch at, and were now proceeding to a hostile, or at best, a desert and inhospitable coast; and as we were to expect a more boisterous climate to the southward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of separation would, by this means, be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more mischievous nature were likewise to be apprehended, and as much as possible to be provided against. Mr. Anson, therefore, in appointing the various stations at which the ships of the squadron were to rendezvous, had considered that it was possible his own ship might be disabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be lost, and had given proper direction that, even in that case, the expedition should not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the captains, the day before we sailed from St. Catherine, were, that in case of separation, the first place of rendezvous should be the bay of Port St. Julian. There they were to supply themselves with as much salt as they could take in; and if after a stay of ten days they were not joined by the Commodore, they were then to proceed through Le Maire Straits, round Cape Horn, into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the Island of Nuestra Senora del Socoro, in lat. 45° south, and long. from the Lizard $71^{\circ} 12'$ west. They were to cruise from five to twelve leagues distance from it, as long as their store of wood and water would permit: and when they were under an absolute necessity of a fresh supply, they were to stand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring-place; and in case they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to supply their ships by standing off and on, they were then to make the best of their way to the island of Juan Fernandez, in lat. $33^{\circ} 37'$ south. At this island, as soon as they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruising off the anchoring-place for fifty-six days: in which time, if they were not joined by the Commodore, they might conclude that some accident had befallen him, and they were forthwith to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to use his utmost

endeavours to annoy the enemy both by sea and land. With these views, the new Commodore was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted, or as long as they were recruited by what he should take from the enemy, reserving only a sufficient quantity to carry him and the ships under his command to Macao, at the entrance of the river of Canton, on the coast of China, where, having supplied himself with a new stock of provisions, he was thence, without delay, to make the best of his way to England.

Under these orders, the squadron sailed from St. Catherine on the 18th of January. The next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder, but it soon became fair again, with light breezes, and continued thus till Wednesday evening, when it blew fresh again; and increasing all night, by eight the next morning it became a most violent storm, and we had with it so thick a fog, that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships' lengths, so that the whole squadron disappeared. On this a signal was made, by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due east. We ourselves immediately handed the top-sails, bunted the main-sail, and lay to under a reefed mizzen till noon, when the fog dispersed, and we soon discovered all the ships of the squadron, except the Pearl, which did not join us till near a month afterwards. The Tryal sloop was a great way to leeward, having lost her mainmast in the squall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft. We, therefore, bore down with our squadron to her relief, and the Gloucester was ordered to take her in tow.

After this accident we stood to the southward with little interruption, and here we experienced the same setting of the current which we had observed before our arrival at St. Catherine; that is, we generally found ourselves to the southward of our reckoning by about twenty miles each day. This deviation, with a little inequality, lasted till we had passed the latitude of the river Plata.

As soon as we had passed the latitude of the river Plata, we had soundings, which continued all along the coast of Patagonia. We made Cape Blanco on the 17th of February, and at five that afternoon came to an anchor in lat. 48° 58'. Weighing again at five next morning, we an hour afterwards discovered a sail, upon which the Severn and Gloucester were both directed to give chase; but we soon perceived it to be the Pearl, and on this we made a signal for the Severn to rejoine

the squadron, leaving the Gloucester alone in the pursuit. And now we were surprised to see that, on the Gloucester's approach, the people on board the Pearl increased their sail and stood from her. However, the Gloucester came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and everything ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the Pearl joined us, and running up under our stern, Lieutenant Salt hailed the Commodore, and acquainted him that Captain Kidd died on the 31st of January. He likewise informed us, that he had seen five large ships on the 10th instant, which he for some time imagined to be our squadron, so that he suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pendant, exactly resembling that of the Commodore, at the main topmast-head, to come within gunshot of him before he discovered his mistake; but then, finding it not to be the Centurion, he hauled close upon the wind and crowded from them with all his sail, and standing across a rippling where they hesitated to follow him, he happily escaped. He made them to be five Spanish men-of-war, one of them exceedingly like the Gloucester, which was the occasion of his apprehensions when the Gloucester chased him. By their appearance he thought they consisted of two ships of seventy, two of fifty, and one of forty guns.

Had it not been for the necessity we were under of refitting the Tryal, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any stay at St. Julian's; but as it was impossible for that sloop to proceed round the Cape in her present condition, some stay there was inevitable, and therefore the same evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathom water; and weighing at nine in the morning, we sent the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Severn in shore to discover the harbour of St. Julian, while the ships kept standing along the coast about the distance of a league from the land. At six o'clock we anchored in the bay of St. Julian, in nineteen fathoms. Soon after the cutter returned on board, having discovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our situation, the northernmost point shutting in upon the southernmost, and in appearance closing the entrance.

Being come to an anchor principally with a view of refitting the Tryal, the carpenters were immediately employed in that business, and continued so during our whole stay at the place. The Tryal's main-mast having been carried away about twelve

feet below the gap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the mast serve again; and the *Wager* was ordered to supply her with a spare main top-mast, which the carpenters converted into a new fore-mast.

Whilst we stayed at this place the Commodore appointed the Honourable Captain Murray to succeed to the *Pearl*, and Captain Cheap to the *Wager*, and he promoted Mr. Charles Saunders, his first-lieutenant, to the command of the *Trial* sloop. But Captain Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board the *Centurion*, and it being the opinion of the surgeons that the removing him on board his own ship, in his present condition, might tend to the hazard of his life, Mr. Anson gave an order to Mr. Saumarez, first-lieutenant of the *Centurion*, to act as master and commander of the *Trial* during the illness of Captain Saunders.

Here, as it was apprehended we should certainly meet with the Spanish squadron in passing the Cape, Mr. Anson thought it advisable to give orders to the captains to put all their provisions which were in the way of their guns on board the *Anna Pink*, and to remount such of their guns as had formerly, for the ease of their ships, been ordered into the hold.

This bay of St. Julian being a convenient rendezvous, in case of separation, for all cruisers bound to the southward, and the whole coast of Patagonia, from the river Plata to the Straits of Magellan, lying nearly parallel to their usual route, a short account of the singularity of this country, with a particular description of Port St. Julian, may not be unacceptable to the curious.

The country on the east side is extremely remarkable for a peculiarity not to be paralleled in any other known part of the globe, for, though the whole territory to the northward of the river Plata is full of wood and stored with immense quantities of large timber-trees, yet to the southward of the river no trees of any kind are to be met with except a few peach-trees, first planted and cultivated by the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres; so that, on the whole eastern coast of Patagonia, extending near four hundred leagues in length, and reaching as far back as any discoveries have yet been made, no other wood has been found than a few insignificant shrubs.

But though the country be so destitute of wood, it abounds with pasture; for the land appears in general to be made up of downs of a light, dry, gravelly soil, and produces great quantities of long coarse grass, which grows in tufts, inter-

spersed with large barren spots of gravel between them. This grass, in many places, feeds immense herds of cattle : for the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres having, soon after their first settlement there, brought over a few black cattle from Europe, they have thriven prodigiously by the plenty of herbage which they everywhere met with ; and are now increased to that degree, and are extended so far into different parts of Patagonia, that they are not considered as private property, but many thousands at a time are slaughtered every year by the hunters, only for their hides and tallow.

Besides the numbers of cattle which are every year slaughtered for their hides and tallow, it is often necessary, for the use of agriculture and for other purposes, to take them alive without wounding them : this is performed with a most wonderful, and almost incredible dexterity, and principally by the use of a machine, which the English who have resided at Buenos Ayres generally dehominate a lash. It is made of a thong of several fathoms in length, and very strong, with a running noose at one end of it ; this the hunters (who are mounted on horseback) take in their right hands, it being first properly coiled up, and having its end opposed to the noose fastened to the saddle ; and, thus prepared, they ride at a herd of cattle. When they arrive within a certain distance of a beast, they throw their thong at him with such exactness that they never fail of fixing the noose about his horns. The beast, when he finds himself entangled, generally runs ; but the horse, being swifter, attends him, and prevents the thong from being too much strained ; till a second hunter, who follows the game, throws another noose about one of his hind legs ; and this being done, both horses (for they are trained to this practice) instantly turn different ways in order to strain the two thongs in contrary directions, on which the beast, by their opposite pulls, is presently overthrown ; and then the horses stop, keeping the thong still upon the stretch. Being thus on the ground, and incapable of resistance (for he is extended between the two horses), the hunters alight, and secure him in such a manner that they afterwards easily convey him to whatever place they please. They in like manner noose horses, and, as it is said, even tigers.

The cattle which are killed are slaughtered only for their hides and tallow, to which sometimes are added their tongues ; but the rest of their flesh is left to putrefy, or to be devoured by the birds and wild beasts. The greater part of this carrion

falls to the share of the wild dogs, of which there are immense numbers to be found in that country.

These are supposed to have been originally produced by Spanish dogs from Buenos Ayres, who, allured by the great quantity of carrion, and the facility they had by that means of subsisting, left their masters and ran wild amongst the cattle; for they are plainly of the breed of the European dogs, an animal not originally found in America. But though these dogs are said to be some thousands in a company, they, hitherto, neither diminish nor prevent the increase of the cattle; not daring to attack the herds, by reason of the numbers which constantly feed together.

Besides the wild cattle which have spread themselves in such vast herds from Buenos Ayres towards the southward, the same country is in like manner furnished with horses. These, too, were first brought from Spain, and are also prodigiously increased, and run wild to a much greater distance than the black cattle; and though many of them are excellent, yet their number makes them of little value, the best of them being often sold in the neighbouring settlements, where money is plenty and commodities very dear, for not more than a dollar a piece. It is not, as yet, certain how far to the southward these herds of wild cattle and horses have extended themselves; but there is some reason to conjecture that stragglers, of both kinds, are to be met with very near the Straits of Magellan; and they will in time, doubtless, fill all the southern part of this continent with their breed, which cannot fail of proving of considerable advantage to such ships as may touch upon the coast; for the horses themselves are said to be very good eating, and as such are preferred by some of the Indians, even before the black cattle.

To the account already given, I must add that there are, in all parts of this country, a good number of vicuñas, or Peruvian sheep; but these, by reason of their shyness and swiftness, are killed with difficulty. On the eastern coast, too, there are found immense quantities of seals, and a vast variety of sea-fowl, amongst which the most remarkable are the penguins; they are in size and shape like a goose, but instead of wings they have short stumps like fins, which are of no use to them, except in the water; their bills are narrow, like that of an albatross, and they stand and walk in an erect posture.

The inhabitants of this eastern coast appear to be but few, and have rarely been seen more than two or three at a time

by any ships that have touched here. We, during our stay at the port of St. Julian, saw none. However, towards Buenos Ayres they were sufficiently numerous, and oftentimes very troublesome to the Spaniards; but there the greater breadth and variety of the country, and a milder climate, yield them a better protection; for, in that place, the continent is between three and four hundred leagues in breadth, whereas at Port St. Julian it is little more than a hundred: so that I conceive the same Indians who frequent the western coast of Patagonia and the Straits of Magellan, often ramble to this side. As the Indians near Buenos Ayres exceed those southern Indians in number, so they greatly surpass them in activity and spirit; and seem, in their manners, to be nearly allied to those gallant Chilian Indians, who have long set the whole Spanish power at defiance, have often ravaged their country, and remain to this hour independent. For the Indians about Buenos Ayres have learnt to be excellent horsemen, and are extremely expert in the management of all cutting weapons, though ignorant of the use of fire-arms, which the Spaniards are very solicitous to keep out of their hands.

Thus much may suffice in relation to the eastern coast of Patagonia. The western coast is of less extent; and by reason of the Andes, which skirt it and stretch quite down to the water, is a very rocky and dangerous shore.

CHAPTER VII.

A COUNCIL OF WAR.

THE *Tryal* being nearly refitted, the Commodore thought it necessary, as we were no 7 directly bound for the South Seas, and the enemy's coasts, to fix the plan of his first operation; and therefore, on the 24th of February, a signal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the *Centurion*, at which were present the Honourable Edward Legg, Captain Matthew Mitchell, the Honourable George Murray, Captain David Cheap, together with Colonel Mor-daunt Cracherode, commander of the land forces. At this council, Mr. Anson proposed that their first attempt should be the attack of the town and harbour of *Baldivia*, the principal

frontier of the district of Chili; Mr. Anson informing them, at the same time, that it was an article contained in his Majesty's instructions to him, to endeavour to secure some port in the South Seas, where the ships of the squadron might be careened and refitted. To this proposition the council unanimously and readily agreed; and, in consequence of this resolution, new instructions were given to the captains of the squadron, by which, though they were still directed, in case of separation, to make the best of their way to the island of Nuestra Senora del Socoro, yet they were to cruise off that island only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the Commodore, they were to proceed and cruise off the harbour of Baldivia, making the land between lat. 40° and $40^{\circ} 30'$, and taking care to keep to the southward of the port; and if in fourteen days they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to quit this station, and to direct their course to the island of Juan Fernandez; after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. And, as the separation of the squadron might prove of the utmost prejudice to his Majesty's service, each captain was ordered to give it in charge to the respective officers of the watch, not to keep their ship at a greater distance from the Centurion than two miles, as they would answer it at their peril.

These necessary regulations being established, and the Tryal sloop completed, the squadron weighed on the 27th of February, at seven in the morning, and stood to sea. At ten in the morning, the day after our departure, Wood's Mount, the high land over St. Julian, bore from us N. by W., distant ten leagues; and now standing to the southward, we had great expectation of falling in with Pizarro's squadron; for during our stay at Port St. Julian, there had generally been hard gales between the W.N.W. and S.W., so that we had reason to conclude the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. Indeed, it was the prospect of meeting with them that had occasioned our Commodore to be so very solicitous to prevent the separation of our ships; for had we been solely intent upon getting round Cape Horn in the shortest time, the properest method for this purpose would have been to order each ship to make the best of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the rest.

From our departure from St. Julian to the 4th of March, we had little wind, with thick hazy weather, and some rain. On the 4th we were in sight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not

more than six or seven leagues distant from it. This Cape is the northern boundary of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan: it lies in lat. $52^{\circ} 21'$ south, and long. from London $71^{\circ} 44'$ west, and seems to be a low flat land, ending in a point. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with small breezes of wind, inclinable to a calm; and most of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a visit to the Commodore: but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame, which burst out on board the Gloucester, and which was succeeded by a cloud of smoke. However, they were soon relieved from their apprehensions, by receiving information that the blast was occasioned by a spark of fire from the forge, lighting on some gunpowder, and other combustibles, which an officer on board was preparing for use, in case we should fall in with the Spanish fleet; and that it had been extinguished, without any damage to the ship.

We here found, what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding short duration; and that when it was remarkably fine, it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm; for the calm and sunshine of our afternoon ended in a most turbulent night, the wind freshening from the S.W. as the night came on, and increasing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew so hard that we were obliged to bring to with the squadron, and to continue under a reefed mizzen till eleven at night. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made sail again; and steering south, we discovered in the morning, for the first time, the land called Tierra del Fuego, stretching from the S. by W. to the S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. This, indeed, afforded us but a very uncomfortable prospect, it appearing of a stupendous height, covered everywhere with snow. We steered along this shore all day, having soundings from forty to fifty fathoms, with stones and gravel. And as we intended to pass through Straits Le Maire next day, we lay to at night, that we might not overshoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourselves for the tempestuous climate we were soon to be engaged in: with which view, we employed ourselves good part of the night in bending an entire new suit of sails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of March, we made sail, and at eight saw the land; and soon after we began to open the Straits. We found it difficult to determine exactly where the Straits

lay, till they began to open to our view ; and for want of this, if we had not happened to have coasted a considerable way along shore, we might have missed the Straits, and got to the eastward of Staten-land before we knew it.

Though Tierra del Fuego had an aspect extremely barren and desolate, yet this island of Staten-land far surpasses it in the wildness and horror of its appearance ; it seeming to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, without the least mixture of earth or mould between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of ragged points, which spire up to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlasting snow : the points themselves are, on every side, surrounded with frightful precipices, and often overhang in a most astonishing manner ; and the hills which bear them are generally separated from each other by narrow clefts, which appear as if the country had been frequently rent by earthquakes ; for these chasms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the substance of the main rocks almost to their very bottoms ; so that nothing can be imagined more savage and gloomy than the whole aspect of this coast. As these Straits are often esteemed to be the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and as we presumed we had nothing before us from hence but an open sea, till we arrived on those opulent coasts where all our hopes and wishes centred, we could not help persuading ourselves that the greatest difficulty of our voyage was now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were upon the point of being realized ; and hence we indulged our imaginations in those romantic schemes which the fancied possession of the Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be conceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were considerably heightened by the brightness of the sky and serenity of the weather, which was, indeed, most remarkably pleasing ; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and midness, gave place to none we had seen since our departure from England. Thus animated by these flattering delusions, we passed those memorable Straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities which were then impending, and just ready to break upon us ; ignorant that the time drew near, when the squadron would be separated never to unite again ; and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would live to enjoy.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOUBLING CAPE HORN.

WE had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the Straits Le Maire, when our flattering hopes were instantly lost in the apprehensions of immediate destruction; for, before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the Straits, the serenity of the sky was suddenly obscured, and we observed all the presages of an impending storm; and presently the wind shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls, that we were obliged to hand our top-sails and reef our main-sail—whilst the tide, which had hitherto favoured us, at once turned furiously against us, and drove us to the eastward with prodigious rapidity, so that we were in great anxiety for the *Wager* and the *Anna Pink*, the two sternmost vessels, fearing they would be dashed to pieces against the shore of Staten-land: nor were our apprehensions without foundation, for it was with the utmost difficulty they escaped. And now the whole squadron, instead of pursuing their intended course to the S.W., were driven to the eastward by the united force of the storm and of the currents; so that the next day, in the morning, we found ourselves near seven leagues to the eastward of Straits Le Maire. The violence of the current, which had sent us with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the fierceness and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught us to consider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprise that might prove too mighty for our efforts; though some amongst us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were said to have met with, in this undertaking, as little better than chimerical, and had supposed them to arise rather from timidity and unskilfulness than from the real embarrassments of the winds and seas. But we were now convinced that these censures were rash and ill-grounded; for the distresses with which we struggled during the three succeeding months will not easily be paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by those who shall carefully peruse the ensuing narration.

From the storm which came on before we had well got clear of Straits Le Maire, we had a continual succession of such

tempestuous weather as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales, compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short, and at the same time such mountainous waves, as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe. And it was not without great reason that this unusual appearance filled us with continued terror; for had any one of these waves broke fairly over us, it must, in all probability, have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only; for the ship, rolling incessantly gunwale-to, gave us such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against her decks or sides. And, though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these shocks, by grasping some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold, some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured; in particular, one of our best seamen was canted overboard and drowned, another dislocated his neck, a third was thrown into the main hold and broke his thigh, and one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the same kind.

These tempests, so dreadful in themselves, though unattended by any other unfavourable circumstances, were yet rendered more mischievous to us by their inequality, and the deceitful intervals which they sometimes afforded; for though we were oftentimes obliged to lie to for days together under a reefed mizzen, and were frequently reduced to lie at the mercy of the waves under our bare poles, yet now and then we ventured to make sail with our courses double reefed; and the weather, proving more tolerable, would, perhaps, encourage us to set our top-sails; after which, the wind, without any previous notice, would return upon us with redoubled force, and would in an instant tear our sails from the yards. And, that no circumstance might be wanting which could aggravate our distress, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased our rigging, and froze our sails, thereby rendering them and our cordage brittle, and apt to snap upon the slightest strain; adding great difficulty and labour to the working of the ship, benumbing the limbs of our people, and making them incapable of exerting themselves with their usual activity, and even disabling many of them, by mortifying their toes and fingers.

It was on the 7th of March, that we passed Straits Le Maire, and were, immediately afterwards, driven to the eastward by a violent storm. For the four or five succeeding days we had hard gales of wind from the same quarter, with a most prodigious swell; so that, though we stood during all that time towards the S.W., yet we had no reason to imagine we had made any way to the westward. In this interval we had frequent squalls of rain and snow, and shipped great quantities of water; after which, for three or four days, though the seas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate: but on the 18th we had again strong gales of wind, with extreme cold, and at midnight the main-top-sail split, and one of the straps of the main dead-eyes broke. From hence to the 23rd the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and sleet, and some hard gales; but as the waves did not subside, the ship, by labouring in this lofty sea, was now grown so loose in her upper works, that she let in the water at every seam, so that every part within board was constantly exposed to the seawater, and scarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds.

On the 23rd we had a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great sea; and though we handed the main-top-sail before the height of the squall, yet we found the yard sprung, and soon after, the foot-rope of the main-sail breaking, the main-sail itself split instantly to rags, and, in spite of our endeavours to save it, much the greater part of it was blown overboard. On this the Commodore made the signal for the squadron to bring to; and the storm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main-top-sail yard, to put the carpenter to work upon it, and of repairing our rigging; after which, having bent a new main-sail, we got under sail again with a moderate breeze, but in less than twenty-four hours we were attacked by another storm still more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the necessity of lying to under bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged in the afternoon to wear ship, in order to join the squadron to the leeward, which, otherwise, we should have been in danger of losing in the night: and as we dared not venture any sail abroad, we were obliged to make use of an expedient which answered our purpose: this was, putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-shrouds. But, though this method proved

successful for the end intended, yet, in the execution of it, one of our ablest seamen was canted overboard. We perceived that, notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, he swam very strong; and it was with the utmost concern that we found ourselves incapable of assisting him.

Before this last-mentioned storm was quite abated, we found two of our main-shrouds and one mizen-shroud broke, all which we knotted and set up immediately. From hence we had an interval of three or four days less tempestuous than usual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almost every half-hour, to keep our squadron together. On the 31st we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Gloucester, and a signal made by her to speak with the Commodore: we immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of some terrible disaster; but we were apprized of it before we joined her, for we saw that her main-yard was broke in the slings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture, as it was obvious it would prove an hindrance to our sailing, and would detain us the longer in these inhospitable latitudes. The Commodore ordered several carpenters to be put on board the Gloucester from the other ships of the squadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmost expedition. The captain of the Tryal complaining at the same time that his pumps were so bad, and the sloop made so great a quantity of water, that he was scarcely able to keep her free, the Commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ship. It was very fortunate for the Gloucester and the Tryal, that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days both before and after; since by this means they were enabled to receive the assistance which seemed essential to their preservation, and which they could scarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to venture a boat on board.

The next day (April 1st), the weather returned again to its customary bias, the sky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to freshen and to blow in squalls: however, it was not yet so boisterous as to prevent our carrying our top-sails close reefed; but its appearance was such, as plainly prognosticated that a still severer tempest was at hand; and, accordingly, on the 3rd of April, there came on a storm, which, both in its violence and continuation, exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its first onset, we

DOUBLING CAPE HORN.

received a furious shock from a sea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it stove in the quarter gallery and rushed into the ship like a deluge; our rigging, too, suffered extremely from the blow; amongst the rest, one of the straps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was also a main-shroud and puttock-shroud; so that to ease the tress upon the masts and shrouds, we lowered both our main and fore yards, and furled all our sails, and in this posture we lay to for three days, when, the storm somewhat abating, we ventured to make sail under our courses only; but even this we could not do long, for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lie to again till night.

It was wonderful that, notwithstanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the squadron since the breaking of the Gloucester's main-yard: but at three the next morning, several guns were fired to leeward, as signals of distress; and the Commodore making a signal for the squadron to bring to, we, at daybreak, saw the Wager a considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships; and we soon perceived that she had lost her mizzen-mast and main-top-sail-yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this disaster had arisen from the badness of her iron work; for all the chain-plates to windward had given way, upon the ship's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st of March, and the weather was now too severe to permit him to return. Nor was the Wager the only ship of the squadron that suffered in this tempest; for the next day a signal of distress was made by the Anna Pink, and upon speaking with the master, we learnt that they had broke their fore stay and the gammon of the bowsprit, and were in no small danger of having all their masts come by the board; so that we were obliged to bear away, until they had made all fast, after which we hauled upon a wind again.

And now, after all our solicitude, and the numerous ills of every kind to which we had been incessantly exposed for near forty days, we had great consolation in the flattering hopes we entertained that our fatigues were drawing to a period, and that we should soon arrive in a more hospitable climate, where we should be amply repaid for all our past sufferings. For, towards the latter end of March, we were advanced, by our

reckoning, near 10° to the westward of the westernmost point of Tierra del Fuego: and this allowance being double what former navigators have thought necessary to be taken in order to compensate the drift of the western current, we esteemed ourselves to be well advanced within the limits of the Southern Ocean, and had, therefore, been ever since standing to the northward, with as much expedition as the turbulence of the weather and our frequent disasters permitted. And on the 13th of April, we were but a degree in latitude to the southward of the west entrance of the Straits of Magellan; so that we fully expected, in a very few days, to have experienced the celebrated *tranquillity* of the Pacific Ocean.

But these were delusions which only served to render our disappointment more terrible; for the next morning, between one and two, as we were standing to the northward, and the weather, which had till then been hazy, accidentally cleared up, the *Pink* made a signal for seeing land right a-head; and it being but two miles distant, we were all under the most dreadful apprehensions of running on shore; which, had either the wind blown from its usual quarter with its wonted vigour, or had not the moon suddenly shone out, not a ship amongst us could possibly have avoided: but the wind which, some few hours before, blew in squalls from the S.W., having shifted to W.N.W., we were enabled to stand to the southward, and to clear ourselves of this unexpected danger; and were fortunate enough, by noon, to have gained an offing of near twenty leagues.

By the latitude of this land we fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Tierra del Fuego, and was supposed to be Cape Noir. It was, indeed, most wonderful that the currents should have driven us to the eastward with such strength; for the whole squadron esteemed themselves upwards of ten degrees more westerly than this land; so that in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced half that distance. And now, instead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil seas, we were to steer again to the southward, and were again to combat those western blasts which had so often terrified us; and this, too, when we were greatly enfeebled by our men falling sick, and dying apace; and when our spirits, dejected by a long continuance at sea, and by our late disappointment, were much less capable of supporting us in the various difficulties which we could not

but exact in this new undertaking. Add to all this, too, the discouragement we received by the diminution of the strength of the squadron: for, three days before this, we lost sight of the *Severa* and the *Pearl* in the morning; and though we spread our ships, and beat about for them some time, yet we never saw them more: whence we had apprehensions that they, too, might have fallen in with this land in the night; and, by being less favoured by the wind and the moon than we were, might have run on shore and have perished.

CHAPTER IX.

TERRIBLE EXPERIENCES.

AFTER the mortifying disappointment of falling in with the coast of *Tierra del Fuego*, when we esteemed ourselves 10° to the westward of it, we stood away to the s.w. till the 22nd of April, when we were in upwards of 60° of south latitude, and, by our account, near 6° to the westward of Cape Noir. In this run we had a series of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better season; so that this interval, setting the inquietude of our thoughts aside, was by far the most eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits Le Maire to the west coast of America. This moderate weather continued, with little variation, till the 24th; but in the evening of that day the wind began to blow fresh, and soon increased to a prodigious storm; and the weather being extremely thick about midnight, we lost sight of the other four ships of the squadron, which, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our sole misfortune; for the next morning, endeavouring to hand the top-sails, the clue-lines and bunt-lines broke, and the sheets being half flown, every seam in the top-sails was soon split from top to bottom, and the main top-sail shook so strongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lantern, and endangered the head of the mast. However, at length, some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives; whilst, at the same time, the fore-top-sail beat about the yard

with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces. Nor was our attention to our top-sails our sole employment, for the main-sail blew loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail: and the fore-yard being likewise lowered, we lay to under a mizzen.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to sway up our yards, and to repair, in the best manner we could, our shattered rigging; but still we had no sight of the rest of our squadron, nor, indeed, were we joined by any of them again till after our arrival at Juan Fernandez. This total and almost instantaneous separation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for seven weeks, through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate.

The remaining part of this month of April we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day, since the 22nd, edging to the northward: however, on the last day of the month we flattered ourselves with the expectation of soon terminating all our sufferings, for we that day found ourselves in the latitude of $52^{\circ} 13'$, which being to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, we were assured that we had completed our passage, and had arrived in the confines of the Southern Ocean; and this ocean being denominated Pacific, from the equability of the seasons which are said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we should be speedily cheered with the moderate gales, the smooth water, and the temperate air, for which that tract of the globe has been so renowned. And, under the influence of these pleasing circumstances, we hoped to experience some kind of compensation for the complicated miseries which had so constantly attended us for the last eight weeks. But here we were again disappointed; for, in the succeeding month of May, our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done.

Soon after our passing Straits Le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance amongst us; and our long continuance at sea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various disappointments we met with, had occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that, at the latter end of April there were but few on board who were not in some degree afflicted with it; and, in that month, no less than forty-three died of it on board the *Centurion*. But, though we thought

that the distemper had then risen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope that, as we advanced to the northward, its malignity would abate; yet we found, on the contrary, that in the month of May we lost near double that number; and, as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and the disease extended itself so prodigiously, that, after the loss of above two hundred men, we could not, at last, muster more than six fore-mast men in a watch capable of duty.

With this terrible disease we struggled the greatest part of the time of our beating round Cape Horn; and, though it did not then rage with this utmost violence, yet we buried no less than forty-three men on board the *Centurion*, in the month of April. However, we still entertained hopes that when we should have once secured our passage round the Cape, we should put a period to this, and all the other evils which had so constantly pursued us. But it was our misfortune to find that the Pacific Ocean was to us less hospitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of *Tierra del Fuego* and *Cape Horn*: for being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the island of *Socoro*, which was the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron, and where we hoped to meet with some of our companions, we cruised for them in that station several days. But here we were not only disappointed in our expectations of being joined by our friends, and were thereby induced to favour the gloomy suggestions of their having all perished; but we were likewise perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on shore upon this coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the least prospect that in such a case any of us could possibly escape immediate destruction: for the land had, indeed, a most tremendous aspect; the most distant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains usually called the *Andes*, or *Cordilleras*, was extremely high and covered with snow; and the coast itself seemed quite rocky and barren, and the water's edge skirted with precipices. In some places, indeed, we discerned several deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them was generally blocked up by numbers of little islands; and though it was not improbable that there might be convenient shelter in some of those bays, and proper channels leading thereto, yet,

as we were utterly ignorant of the coast, had we been driven ashore by the western winds which blew almost constantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loss of our ship and of our lives.

This continued peril, which lasted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship; as the scurvy had by this time destroyed so great a part of our hands, and had, in some degree, affected almost the whole crew. Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds less violent as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious squalls which split our sails; greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our masts. Indeed, during the greatest part of the time we were upon this coast, the wind blew so hard, that in another situation, where we had sufficient sea-room, we should certainly have lain to; but, in the present exigency, we were necessitated to carry both our courses and top-sails, in order to keep clear of this lee-shore. In one of these squalls, which was attended by several violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along our decks, and, dividing, exploded with a report like that of several pistols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it passed, marking them in different parts of the body: this flame was attended with a strong sulphurous stench, and was doubtless of the same nature with the larger and more violent blasts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors which we encountered on this coast: all these went on increasing till the 22nd of May, at which time the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto encountered seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this hurricane, almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown sea took us upon our starboard-quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were greatly endangered; our ballast and stores, too, were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks to port. Indeed, it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation from the apprehension of instantly foundering; and, though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, as we had no more sails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ship laboured very much in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale to, for want of sail to steady her; so that we

expected our masts, which were now very slenderly supported, to come by the board every moment.

However, we exerted ourselves the best we could to stirrup our shrouds, to reeve new lanyards, and to mend our sails; but while these necessary operations were carrying on, we ran great risk of being driven on shore on the island of Chiloe, which was not far distant from us: but, in the midst of our peril, the wind happily shifted to the southward, and we steered off the land with the main-sail only, the master and myself undertaking the management of the helm, while every one else on board was busied in securing the masts, and bending the sails as fast as they could be repaired. This was the last effort of that stormy climate: for, in a day or two after, we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced since our passing Straits Le Maire. And now, having cruised in vain, for more than a fortnight, in quest of the other ships of the squadron, it was resolved to take the advantage of the present favourable season, and the offing we had made from this terrible coast, and to make the best of our way for the island of Juan Fernandez. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia, yet, as we had hitherto seen none of our companions at this first rendezvous, it was not to be supposed that any of them would be found at the second: indeed, we had the greatest reason to suspect that all but ourselves had perished.

Our deplorable situation, then, allowing no room for deliberation, we stood for the island of Juan Fernandez; and to save time, which was now extremely precious (our men dying four, five, and six in a day), and likewise to avoid being engaged again with a lee-shore, we resolved, if possible, to hit the island upon a meridian. And, on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing it; but not finding it in the position in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had gone too far to the westward; and therefore it was, on a consultation, resolved to stand to the eastward, in the parallel of the island; as it was certain that by this course we should either fall in with the island, if we were already to the westward of it, or should at least make the mainland of Chili, from whence we might take a new departure, and assure ourselves, by running to the westward afterwards, of not missing the island a second time.

On the 30th of May we had a view of the continent of Chili, distant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white, what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow. Though by this view of the land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our course, when we were, in all probability, just upon the point of making the island; for the mortality amongst us was now increased to a most dreadful degree, and those who remained alive were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment, and the prospect of their longer continuance at sea. In this desponding condition, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased that there were not above ten fore-mast men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame and unable to go aloft, we stood to the westward, and on the 9th of June, at daybreak, we at last discovered the long-wished-for island of Juan Fernandez.

CHAPTER X.

THE ISLAND OF JUAN FERNANDEZ.

THE wind being northerly when we first made the island, we kept playing all that day and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and, wearing the ship in the middle watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quarter-masters and six fore-mast men capable of working; so that, without the assistance of the officers, servants, and the boys, it might have proved impossible for us to reach the island after we had got sight of it, and even with this assistance, they were two hours in trimming the sails: to so wretched a condition was a sixty-gun ship reduced, which had passed Straits Le Maire but three months before with between four and five hundred men, almost all of them in health and vigour.

However, on the 10th, in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging along it at about two miles distance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on the north side. Being now

nearer in with the shore, we could discover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were far from barren, being in most places covered with woods, and that between them there were everywhere interspersed the finest valleys, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades, no valley of any extent being unprovided with its proper rill. The water, too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever tasted, and was constantly clear. The aspect of this country, thus diversified, would at all times have been extremely delightful, but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions, it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreshments which were then in sight, and particularly the water, for of this we had been confined to a very sparing allowance a considerable time, and had then but five tuns remaining on board.

Thus we coasted the shore, fully employed in the contemplation of this enchanting landscape, which still improved upon us the farther we advanced. But at last the night closed upon us before we had satisfied ourselves which was the proper bay to anchor in, and therefore we resolved to keep in soundings all night (we having then from sixty-four to seventy fathoms), and to send our boat next morning to discover the road; however, the current shifted in the night, and set us so near the land, that we were obliged to let go the best bower in fifty-six fathom, not half-a-mile from the shore. At four in the morning the cutter was despatched with our third lieutenant to find out the bay we were in search of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with seals and grass, for though the island abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's-crew, in their short stay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even grass would prove a dainty, as, indeed, it was all soon and eagerly devoured. The seals, too, were considered as fresh provision, but as yet were not much admired, though they grew afterwards into more repute; for what rendered them less valuable at this juncture was the prodigious quantity of excellent fish which the people on board had taken during the absence of the boat.

The cutter in this expedition had discovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the westward of our present station; and the next morning, the weather

proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh in order to proceed thither; but though on this occasion we mustered all the strength we could, obliging even the sick, who were scarce able to keep on their legs, to assist us, yet the capstan was so weakly manned that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down; after which, with our utmost efforts, and with many surges and some purchases we made use of to increase our power, we found ourselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, a fresh gale blowing towards the bay, we were induced to set the sails, which happily tripped the anchor, and then we steered along the shore till we came abreast of the point that forms the eastern part of the bay. On the opening of the bay, the wind, that had befriended us thus far, shifted, and blew from thence in squalls; but by means of the headway we had got we loofed close in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-six fathoms.

Soon after we had thus got to our new berth, we discovered a sail, which we made no doubt was one of our squadron, and on its nearer approach we found it to be the *Tryal* sloop. We immediately sent some of our hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from the same calamities which we had so severely felt, for Captain Saunders, waiting on the Commodore, informed him that, out of his small complement, he had buried thirty-four of his men, and those that remained were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men were able to stand by the sails. The *Tryal* came to an anchor within us on the 12th, about noon, and we carried our hawsers on board her, in order to moor ourselves nearer in shore.

Indeed, our principal attention was employed on business of rather more importance, for we were now extremely occupied in sending on shore materials to raise tents for the reception of the sick, who died apace on board: and doubtless the distemper was considerably augmented by the stench and filthiness in which they lay, for the number of the diseased was so great, and so few could be spared from the necessary duty of the sails to look after them, that it was impossible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanliness, which had rendered the ship extremely loathsome between decks. Notwithstanding our desire of freeing the sick from their hateful situation, and

their own extreme impatience to get on shore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we sent them all on shore, amounting to a hundred and sixty-seven persons, besides twelve or fourteen who died in the boats on their being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of our sick were so infirm that we were obliged to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the same manner from the water side to their tents, over a stony beach. This was a work of considerable fatigue to the few who were healthy, and therefore the Commodore, according to his accustomed humanity, not only assisted herein with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without distinction, to give their helping hand. The extreme weakness of our sick may in some measure be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on shore; for it had generally been found that the land, and the refreshments it produces, very soon recover most stages of the sea-scurvy, and we flattered ourselves that those who had not perished on this first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been speedily restored to their health and vigour; yet, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing before the mortality was tolerably ceased; and for the first ten or twelve days we buried rarely less than six each day, and many of those who survived, recovered by very slow and insensible degrees. Indeed, those who were well enough, at their getting on shore, to creep out of their tents and crawl about, were soon relieved, and recovered their health and strength in a very short time; but in the rest the disease seemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.

The island of Juan Fernandez lies in lat. 33° 40' south, and is a hundred and ten leagues distant from the continent of Chili. It is said to have received its name from a Spaniard, who formerly procured a grant of it and resided there some time with a view of settling on it, but afterwards abandoned it. On its east side is a small island, called Goat Island. The island itself is of an irregular figure. Its greatest extent is between four and five leagues, and its greatest breadth somewhat short of two leagues. The only safe anchoring at this island is on the north side, where there are three bays; but the middlemost, known by the name of Cumberland Bay, is the widest and deepest, and in all respects much the best;

for the other two, denominated the East and West Bays, are scarcely more than good landing-places, where boats may conveniently put their casks on shore.

As Cumberland Bay is by far the most commodious road in the island, so it is advisable for all ships to anchor on the western side of this bay, within little more than two cables' length of the beach. Here they may ride in forty fathoms of water, and be in a great measure sheltered from a large heavy sea, which comes rolling in whenever an eastern or a western wind blows.

A northerly wind, to which alone this bay is exposed, very rarely blew during our stay here; and, as it was then winter, it may be supposed in other seasons to be less frequent. Indeed, in those few instances when it was in that quarter, it did not blow with any great force; but this, perhaps, might be owing to the high lands on the southward of the bay, which checked its current, and thereby abated its violence; for we had reason to suppose that, a few leagues off, it blew with considerable strength, since it sometimes drove before it a prodigious sea. But, though the northern winds are never to be apprehended, yet the southern winds, which generally prevail here, frequently blow off the land in violent gusts and squalls, which, however, rarely last longer than two or three minutes.

The northern part of this island is composed of high craggy hills, many of them inaccessible, though generally covered with trees. The soil of this part is loose and shallow, so that very large trees on the hills soon perish for want of root, and are then easily overturned; which occasioned the unfortunate death of one of our sailors, who, being in the hills in search of goats, caught hold of a tree, upon a declivity, to assist him in his ascent, and this giving way, he immediately rolled down the hill; and though in his fall he fastened on another tree of considerable bulk, yet that, too, gave way, and he fell amongst the rocks, and was dashed to pieces. Our prisoners (whom, as will be related in the sequel, we afterwards brought in here) remarked that the appearance of the hills, in some part of the island, resembled that of the mountains of Chili, where the gold is found; so that it is not impossible but mines might be discovered here. We observed in some places several hills of a peculiar sort of red earth, exceeding vermilion in colour, which, perhaps, on examination, might prove useful for many purposes.

The trees, of which the woods on the northern side of the island are composed, are most of them aromatics, and of many different sorts; there are none of them of a size to yield any considerable timber, except the myrtle-trees, which are the largest on the island, and supplied us with all the timber we made use of; but even these would not work to a greater length than forty feet. The top of the myrtle-tree is circular, and appears as uniform and regular as if it had been clipped by art. It bears on its bark an excrescence like moss, which in taste and smell resembles garlic, and was used by our people instead of it. We found here, too, the pimento-tree, and likewise the cabbage-tree, though in no great plenty. We found here almost all the vegetables which are usually esteemed to be particularly adapted to the cure of those scorbutic disorders which are contracted by salt diet and long voyages. We had great quantities of watercresses and purslain, with excellent wild sorrel, and a vast profusion of turnips and Sicilian radishes: these two last, having some resemblance to each other, were confounded by our people under the general name of turnips. We usually preferred the tops of the turnips to the roots, which were often stringy; though some of them were free from that exception, and remarkably good. These vegetables, with the fish and flesh we obtained, were not only extremely grateful to our palates, but were, likewise, of the most salutary consequence to our sick, in recovering and invigorating them, and of no mean service to us who were well, in destroying the lurking seeds of the scurvy.

To the vegetables I have already mentioned, of which we made perpetual use, I must add, that we found many acres of ground covered with oats and clover. There were, also, some few cabbage-trees upon the island; but as they generally grew on the precipices and in dangerous situations, and as it was necessary to cut down a large tree for every single cabbage, this was a dainty that we were able but rarely to indulge in.

The excellence of the climate and the looseness of the soil render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for, if the ground be anywhere accidentally turned up, it is immediately overgrown with turnips and Sicilian radishes. Mr. Anson, therefore, having with him garden seeds of all kinds, and stones of different sorts of fruits, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who should hereafter touch here, sowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and set in the woods a great variety of plum,

apricot, and peach stones ; and these last, he has been informed, have since thriven.

This may, in general, suffice as to the soil and vegetable productions of this place ; but the face of the country, at least at the north part of the island, is so extremely singular, that I cannot avoid giving it a particular consideration. I have already taken notice of the wild, inhospitable air with which the island first appeared to us, and the gradual improvement of this uncouth landscape, as we drew nearer, till we were at last captivated by the numerous beauties we discovered on the shore. And I must now add, that we found, during the time of our residence there, that the inland parts of the island did no ways fall short of the sanguine prepossessions which we first entertained in their favour ; for the woods, which covered most of the steepest hills, were free from all bushes and underwood, and afforded an easy passage through every part of them ; and the irregularities of the hills and precipices, in the northern part of the island, necessarily traced out by their various combinations a great number of romantic valleys, most of which had a stream of the clearest water running through them, that tumbled in cascades from rock to rock, as the bottom of the valley, by the course of the neighbouring hills, was, at any time, broken into a sudden sharp descent. Some particular spots occurred in these valleys, where the shade and fragrance of the contiguous woods, the loftiness of the overhanging rocks, and the transparency and frequent falls of the neighbouring streams, presented scenes of such elegance and dignity, as would with difficulty be rivalled in any other part of the globe. It is in this place, perhaps, that the simple productions of unassisted nature may be said to excel all the fictitious descriptions of the most animated imagination.

It remains now, only, that we speak of the animals and provisions which we met with at this place. Former writers have related, that this island abounded with vast numbers of goats ; and their accounts are not to be questioned, this place being the usual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers, who formerly frequented these seas. And there are two instances ; one of a Mosquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who were left here by their respective ships, and lived alone upon this island for some years, and, consequently, were no strangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Duchess privateers of Bristol, as may

be seen at large in the journal of their voyage : his manner of life during his solitude, was in most particulars very remarkable ; but there is one circumstance he relates, which was so strangely verified by our own observation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, amongst other things, that as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the island. Now it happened, that the first goat that was killed by our people, at their landing, had his ears slit, whence we concluded that he had doubtless been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was, indeed, an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity.

But the great number of goats, which former writers describe to have been found upon this island, are at present very much diminished ; as the Spaniards, being informed of the advantages which the buccaneers and privateers drew from the provisions which goats' flesh here furnished them with, have endeavoured to extirpate the breed, thereby to deprive their enemies of this relief. For this purpose they have put on shore great numbers of large dogs, who have increased apace, and have destroyed all the goats in the accessible part of the country ; so that there now remain only a few amongst the crags and the precipices, where the dogs cannot follow them. These are divided into separate herds of twenty or thirty each, which inhabit distinct fastnesses, and never mingle with each other : by this means, we found it extremely difficult to kill them ; and yet we were so desirous of their flesh, which we all agreed much resembled venison, that we got knowledge, I believe, of all their herds ; and it was conceived, by comparing their numbers together, that they scarcely exceeded two hundred upon the whole island. I remember we had once an opportunity of observing a remarkable dispute betwixt a herd of these animals and a number of dogs ; for going in our boat into the eastern bay, we perceived some dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to discover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars some time to view them, and at last saw them take to a hill, where, looking a little further, we observed upon the ridge of it a herd of goats, which seemed drawn up for their reception. There was a very narrow path, skirted on each side by precipices, on which the master of the herd posted himself, fronting the enemy, the rest of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was

more open; as this spot was inaccessible by any other path, excepting where this champion had placed himself, the dogs, though they run up hill with great alacrity, yet, when they came within about twenty yards of him, they found they durst not encounter him, but gave over the chase, and quietly laid themselves down, panting at a great rate.

Goats' flesh being scarce, we rarely being able to kill above one a day, and our people growing tired of fish, they at last condescended to eat seals, which by degrees they came to relish, and called it lamb. The seal, numbers of which haunt this island, hath been so often mentioned by former writers, that it is unnecessary to say anything particular about it in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a sea-lion, that bears some resemblance to a seal, though it is much larger. This, too, we ate, under the denomination of beef; and as it is so extraordinary an animal, I conceive it well merits a particular description. They are in size, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference: they are extremely fat, so that having cut through the skin, which is about an inch in thickness, there is at least a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced, more than once, that the fat of some of the largest afforded us a butt of oil.

Their skins are covered with short hair of light-dun colour; but their tails and their fins, which serve them for feet on shore, are almost black; their fins, or feet, are divided at the ends like fingers, the web which joins them not reaching to the extremities, and each of these fingers is furnished with a nail. They have a distant resemblance to an overgrown seal, though, in some particulars, there is a manifest difference between them, especially in the males. These have a large snout, or trunk, hanging down five or six inches below the end of the upper jaw; which the females have not, and this renders the countenance of the male and female easy to be distinguished from each other, and, besides, the males are of a much larger size. These animals divide their time equally between the land and sea, continuing at sea all the summer, and coming on shore at the setting in of the winter, where they reside during that whole season. In this interval they bring forth their young, and have generally two at a birth; which they suckle with their milk, they being at first about the size of a full-grown seal. During the time these sea-lions

continue on shore, they feed on the grass and verdure which grow near the banks of the fresh-water streams; and when not employed in feeding, sleep in herds in the most miry places they can find. As they seem to be of a very lethargic disposition, and are not easily awakened, each herd was observed to place some of their males at a distance in the nature of sentinels, who never failed to alarm them whenever anyone attempted to molest, or even to approach them; and they were very capable of alarming, even at a considerable distance, for the noise they make is very loud, and of different kinds, sometimes grunting like hogs, and at other times snorting like horses in full vigour.

They often, especially the males, have furious battles with each other, principally about their females; and we were one day extremely surprised by the sight of two animals, which, at first, appeared different from all we had ever observed, but on a nearer approach they proved to be two sea-lions, who had been goring each other with their teeth, and were covered over with blood; and one, whom our men styled the Bashaw, generally lay surrounded with a seraglio of females, which no other male dared to approach, but had not acquired that envied pre-eminence without many bloody contests, of which the marks still remained in the numerous scars which were visible in every part of his body. We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we esteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to those of bullocks. In general there was no difficulty in killing them, for they were incapable either of escaping or resisting; as their motion is the most unwieldy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their skins. However, a sailor one day being carelessly employed in skinning a young sea-lion, the female, from whence he had taken it, came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, she with her teeth scored his skull in notches in many places, and thereby wounded him so desperately that though all possible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

These are the principal animals which are found upon the island; for we saw but few birds, and those chiefly hawks, blackbirds, owls, and humming-birds. We saw not the Pardela, which burrows in the ground, and which former writers have mentioned to be found here, but, as we often met with their holes, we supposed that the dogs had destroyed them;

as they have almost done the cats, for these were very numerous in Selkirk's time, but we saw not above one or two during our whole stay. However, the rats still keep their ground, continue here in great numbers, and were very troublesome to us, by infesting our tents nightly.

We found here cod of a prodigious size, and, by the report of some of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fishery, not in less plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that island. We caught also, cavallies, gropers, large breams, maids, silver fish, congers of a peculiar kind, and, above all, a black fish which we most esteemed, called by some a chimney-sweeper, in shape resembling a carp. The beach, indeed, is everywhere so full of rocks and loose stones, that there is no possibility of hauling the seine; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleased; so that a boat with two or three lines would return loaded with fish in about two or three hours' time. The only interruption we ever met with, arose from great quantities of dog-fish and large sharks, which sometimes attended our boats, and prevented our sport. Besides the fish we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to size, flavour, and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world—this was sea cray-fish; they generally weighed eight or nine pounds a-piece, were of a most excellent taste, and lay in such abundance near the water's edge, that the boat-hooks often struck into them, in putting the boat to and from the shore.

CHAPTER XI.

THE GLOUCESTER IN^d DISTRESS.

THE arrival of the Tryal sloop at this island, so soon after we came there ourselves, gave us great hopes of being speedily joined by the rest of the squadron, and we were for some days continually in expectation of their coming in sight. But near a fortnight being elapsed without any of them having appeared, we began to despair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that had our ship continued so much longer at sea, we should every man of us have perished, and the vessel,

occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves ; and this we had great reason to fear was the fate of our consorts, as each hour added to the probability of these desponding suggestions.

But on the 21st of June, some of our people from an eminence on shore discerned a ship to leeward, with her courses even with the horizon ; and they, at the same time, particularly observed, that she had no sail abroad except her courses and her main-top-sail. This circumstance made them conclude that it was one of our squadron, which had probably suffered in her sails and rigging as severely as we had done ; but they were prevented from forming more definitive conjectures about her, for the weather grew thick and hazy, and they lost sight of her. On this report, and no ship appearing for some days, we were all under the greatest concern, suspecting that her people were in the utmost distress for want of water, and so diminished and weakened by sickness as not to be able to ply up to windward, so that we feared that, after having been in sight of the island, her whole crew would, notwithstanding, perish at sea. However, on the 26th, we discerned a sail in the north-east quarter, and about one o'clock she approached so near that we could distinguish her to be the Gloucester. As we had no doubt of her being in great distress, the Commodore immediately ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, which was a very seasonable relief to them, as, perhaps, there was never a crew in a more distressed situation. They had already thrown overboard two-thirds of their complement, and of those which remained alive, scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been a considerable time at the small allowance of a pint of fresh water to each man for twenty-four hours, and yet they had so little left that had it not been for the supply we sent them they must soon have died of thirst. The ship plied in within three miles of the bay, but the winds and currents being contrary, she could not reach the road. However, she continued in the offing the next day, but as she had no chance of coming to an anchor, unless the winds and currents shifted, the Commodore repeated his assistance, sending to her the Tryal's boat manned with the Centurion's people, and a further supply of water and other refreshments.

Captain Mitchell of the Gloucester was under a necessity of detaining both this boat and that sent the preceding day ; for

without the help of their crews, he had no longer strength enough to navigate the ship. In this tantalizing situation the Gloucester continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at some times bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July, we observed her stretching away to the eastward, at a considerable distance, which we supposed was with a design to get to the southward of the island; but as we soon lost sight of her, and she did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiously concerned, knowing that she must be again in extreme distress for want of water. After great impatience about her, we discovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island; but the wind still blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land.

On this Captain Mitchell made signals of distress, and our long-boat was sent to him with a store of water, and plenty of fish and other refreshments. And the long-boat being not to be spared, the cockswain had positive orders from the Commodore to return again immediately; but the weather proving stormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared she was lost, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all; however, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety by the joyful sight of the long-boat's sails upon the water; on which we sent the cutter immediately to her assistance, who towed her alongside in a few hours; when we found that the crew of our long-boat had taken in six of the Gloucester's sick men to bring them on shore, two of which had died in the boat. We now learnt that the Gloucester was in a most dreadful condition, having scarcely a man in health on board, except those they received from us: and numbers of the sick dying daily, it appeared that, had it not been for the last supply sent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diseased must have all perished together for want of water. These calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy; for the Gloucester had already spent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and she was now no farther advanced than at the first moment she made the island; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever succeeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the same day her situation grew more desperate than ever, for, after she had received our last supply of refreshments, we

again lost sight of her ; so that we in general despaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was the unhappy vessel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilst the neighbourhood of that place and of those circumstances, which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, served only to aggravate their distress, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But she was at last delivered from this dreadful situation, at a time when we least expected it ; for after having lost sight of her for several days, we were pleasantly surprised, on the morning of the 23rd of July, to see her upon the N.W. point of the bay with a flowing sail ; when we immediately despatched what boats we had to her assistance, and in an hour's time from our first perceiving her, she anchored safe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the assistance and refreshments we so often sent them, and how impossible it would have been for a man of them to have survived, had we given less attention to their wants ; for notwithstanding the water, the greens, and fresh provisions which we supplied them with, and the hands we sent them to ravigate the ship, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminished, their sick relieved, and the mortality abated, they buried above three-fourths of their crew, and a very small portion of the remainder were capable of assisting in the duty of the ship. On their coming to an anchor, our first endeavours were to assist them in mooring, and our next to send their sick on shore ; these were now reduced by deaths to less than fourscore, of which we expected to lose the greatest part ; but whether it was that those farthest advanced in the distemper were all dead, or that the greens and fresh provisions we had sent on board had prepared those which remained for a more speedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectations, that their sick were in general relieved, and restored to their strength, in a much shorter time than our own had been when we first came to the island, and very few of them died on shore.

Our next employment, after sending our sick on shore from the *Centurion*, was cleansing our ship and filling our water. The first of these measures was indispensably necessary to our future health ; as the numbers of sick, and the unavoidable negligence arising from our deplorable situation at sea, had rendered the decks most intolerably loathsome : and the

filling our water was a caution that appeared not less essential to our security, as we had reason to apprehend that accidents might intervene, which would oblige us to quit the island at a very short warning; for some appearances we had discovered on shore, upon our first landing, gave us grounds to believe that there were Spanish cruisers in these seas, which had left the island but a short time before our arrival, and might possibly return thither again, either for a recruit of water or in search of us; since we could not doubt but that the sole business they had at sea was to intercept us, and we knew that this island was the likeliest place, in their own opinion, to meet with us. The circumstances which gave rise to these reflections were our finding on shore several pieces of earthen jars, made use of in those seas for water and other liquids, which appeared to be fresh broken: we saw, too, many heaps of ashes, and near them fish-bones and pieces of fish, besides whole fish scattered here and there, which plainly appeared to have been but a short time out of the water, as they were but just beginning to decay. These were certain indications that there had been ships at this place but a short time before we came there; and as all Spanish merchantmen are instructed to avoid the island, on account of its being the common rendezvous of their enemies, we concluded those who had touched here to be ships of force; and not knowing that Pizarro was returned to Buenos Ayres, and ignorant what strength might have been fitted out at Callao, we were under some concern for our safety, being in so wretched and enfeebled condition, that notwithstanding the rank of our ship, and the sixty guns she carried on board, which would only have aggravated our dishonour, there was scarcely a privateer sent to sea that was not an overmatch for us. However, our fears on this head proved imaginary, and we were not exposed to the disgrace which might have been expected to befall us had we been necessitated (as we must have been had the enemy appeared) to fight our sixty-gun ship with no more than thirty hands.

Whilst the cleaning our ship and the filling our water went on, we set up a large copper oven on shore near the sick tents, in which we baked bread every day for the ship's company; for being extremely desirous of recovering our sick as soon as possible, we conceived that new bread, added to their greens and fresh fish, might prove a powerful article in their relief. Indeed, we had all imaginable reason to endeavour at the

augmenting our present strength, as every little accident, which to a full crew would be insignificant, was extremely alarming in our present helpless situation: of this we had a troublesome instance on the 30th of June; for, at five in the morning, we were astonished by a violent gust of wind directly off shore, which instantly parted our small bower cable about ten fathoms from the ring of the anchor: the ship at once swung off to the best bower, which happily stood the violence of the jerk, and brought us up with two cables an end in eighty fathoms. All this time we had not above a dozen seamen in the ship, and we were apprehensive, if the squall continued, that we should be driven to sea in this wretched condition. However, we sent the boat on shore, to bring off all who were capable of acting; and the wind soon abating of its fury, gave us an opportunity of receiving the boat back again with a reinforcement. With this additional strength we immediately went to work, to heave in what remained of the cable, which we suspected had received some damage from the foulness of the ground before it parted; and agreeable to our conjecture, we found that seven fathoms and a half of the outer end had been rubbed and rendered unserviceable. In the afternoon we bent the cable to the spare anchor, and got it over the ship's side; and the next morning, July 1st, being favoured with the wind in gentle breezes, we warped the ship in again, and let go the anchor in forty-one fathoms.

And now as we advanced in July, some of our men being tolerably recovered, the strongest of them were put upon cutting down trees, and splitting them into billets; while others, who were too weak for this employ, undertook to carry the billets by one at a time to the water-side: this they performed, some of them with the help of crutches, and others supported by a single stick. We next sent the forge on shore, and employed our smiths, who were but just capable of working, in mending our chain-plates, and our other broken and decayed iron-work. We began, too, the repairs of our rigging; but, as we had not junk enough to make spun-yarn, we deferred the general overhale, in hopes of the daily arrival of the Gloucester, who we knew had a great quantity of junk on board. However, that we might despatch as fast as possible in our refitting, we set up a large tent on the beach for the sailmakers; and they were immediately employed in repairing our old sails, and making us new ones. These occupations,

with our cleansing and watering the ship, the attendance of our sick, and the frequent relief sent to the Gloucester, were the principal transactions of our infirm crew, till the arrival of the Gloucester at an anchor in the bay.

Then Captain Mitchell, waiting on the Commodore, informed him that he had been forced by the winds, in his last absence, as far as the small island called Masa Fuero, lying about twenty-two leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandez; and that he endeavoured to send his boat on shore there for water, of which he could observe several streams, but the wind blew so strong upon the shore, and occasioned such a surf, that it was impossible for the boat to land, though the attempt was not altogether useless, for his people returned with a boat-load of fish.

As four ships of our squadron were missing, the description of Masa Fuero gave rise to a conjecture that some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, and might have mistaken it for the true place of our rendezvous. Mr. Anson, therefore, determined to send the Tryal sloop thither, as soon as she could be fitted for sea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be satisfied whether any of our missing ships were there or not. For this purpose some of our best hands were sent on board the Tryal the next morning, to overhaul and fix her rigging; and our long-boat was employed in completing her water; and whatever stores and necessaries she wanted were immediately supplied, either from the Centurion or the Gloucester. But it was the 4th of August before the Tryal was in readiness to sail, when, having weighed, it soon after fell calm, and the tide set her very near the eastern shore. Captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired several guns, to acquaint us with his danger: upon which all the boats were sent to his relief, who towed the sloop into the bay, where she anchored until the next morning, and then weighing again, proceeded on her cruise with a fair breeze.

Towards the middle of August, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their sick tents, and to build separate huts for themselves, as it was imagined that, by living apart, they would be much cleaner, and, consequently, likely to recover their strength the sooner; but at the same time, particular orders were given, that, on the firing of a gun from the ship, they should instantly repair to the water-side. Their employment on shore was now either the procuring of refreshments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from

the blubber of the sea-lions. Some of the men, too, were occupied in salting cod ; for there being two Newfoundland fishermen in the Centurion, the Commodore set them about laying in a considerable quantity of salted cod for a sea-store, though very little of it was used, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the scurvy as any other kind of salt provisions.

I should have mentioned, that the Tryal sloop, on her arrival, informed us that, on the 9th of May, she fell in with our victualler, not far distant from the continent of Chili ; and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This afforded us some room to hope that she was safe, and might join us ; but all June and July being past without any news of her, we then gave her over for lost ; and, at the end of July, the Commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. Nor was it in our bread only that we feared a deficiency, for, since our arrival at this island, we discovered that our former purser had neglected to take on board large quantities of several kinds of provisions, which the Commodore had expressly ordered him to receive ; so that the supposed loss of our victualler was, on all accounts, a mortifying consideration. However, on Sunday, the 16th of August, about noon, we espied a sail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the Centurion to call off the people from shore ; who readily obeyed the summons, repairing to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. At first, many imagined it to be the Tryal sloop returned from her cruise ; though as she drew nearer this opinion was confuted, by observing she was a vessel with three masts : then other conjectures were eagerly canvassed, some judging it to be the Severn, others the Pearl, and several affirming that it did not belong to our squadron : but about three in the afternoon, our disputes were ended, by an unanimous persuasion that it was our victualler, the Anna Pink. This ship, though like the Gloucester she had fallen in to the northward of the island, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay, at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the sincerest joy ; for each ship's company were immediately restored to their full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehensions of our provisions falling short before we could reach some amicable port ; a calamity which, in these seas, is of all others the most irretrievable.

CHAPTER XII.

A MUTINY.

ON the first appearance of the *Anna Pink* it seemed wonderful to us how the crew of a vessel, which came to this rendezvous two months after us, should be capable of working their ship in the manner they did, with so little appearance of debility and distress. But this puzzle was soon solved when she came to anchor, for we then found that they had been in harbour since the middle of May, near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandez; so that their sufferings were greatly short of what had been undergone by the rest of the squadron. On the 16th of May they fell in with land, which was then but four leagues distant, in lat. of $45^{\circ} 15'$ south. On the first sight of it they wore ship and stood to the southward; but their fore-top-sail splitting, and the wind being w.s.w., they drove towards the shore: and the captain, at last, either unable to clear the land, or, as others say, resolved to keep the sea no longer, steered for the coast, with a view of discovering some shelter amongst the many islands which then appeared in sight; and, about four hours after the first view of the land, the *Pink* had the happiness to come to an anchor to the eastward of the island of Inchin; but, as they did not run sufficiently near to the east shore of that island, and had not hands enough to veer away the cable briskly, they were soon driven to the eastward; and still continuing to drive, they, the next day, let go their sheet anchor. This, though it brought them up for a short time, yet—on the 18th—they drove again, till they came into sixty-five fathoms water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on shore every moment, in a place where the coast was so very high and steep, that there was not the least prospect of saving the ship or cargo. As their boats were very leaky, and there was no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew, consisting of sixteen men and boys, gave themselves over for lost, apprehending that, if any of them, by some extraordinary chance, could get on shore, they would, in all probability, be massacred by the savages; for these, knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all strangers with the same cruelty which they

had so often and so signally exerted against their Spanish neighbours. Under these terrifying circumstances, the *Pink* drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the shore ; but at last, when the crew expected each instant to strike, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes ; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they steered for it, and found it to be a small channel betwixt an island and the main, that led them into a most excellent harbour, which, for its security against all winds and swells, and the smoothness of its water, may, perhaps, compare with any in the known world. And, this place being scarcely two miles distant from the spot where they deemed their destruction inevitable, the horrors of shipwreck and of immediate death, which had so long and so strongly possessed them, vanished almost instantaneously, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of security, refreshment, and repose.

In this harbour, discovered in this providential manner, the *Pink* came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, with only a hawser, and a small anchor of about three hundred-weight. Here she continued for near two months, and here her people, who were many of them ill of the scurvy, were soon restored to perfect health by the fresh provisions, of which they procured good store, and the excellent water with which the adjacent shore abounded.

The principal refreshments they met with in this port were greens, as wild celery, nettle-tops, etc. ; shell-fish, as cockles and mussels of an extraordinary size, and extremely delicious ; and good store of geese, shags, and penguins. The climate, though it was the depth of winter, was not remarkably rigorous ; nor the trees, nor the face of the country, destitute of verdure ; whence, in the summer, many other species of fresh provisions, besides those enumerated, might doubtless be found here. Notwithstanding the tales of the Spanish historians, in relation to the violence and barbarity of the inhabitants, it does not appear that their numbers are sufficient to give the least alarm to any ship of ordinary force, or that their disposition is by any means so mischievous or merciless as hath hitherto been represented. With all these advantages, this place is so far removed from the Spanish frontier, and so little known to the Spaniards themselves, that there is reason to suppose that, by proper precautions, a ship might continue here undiscovered a long time. It is, moreover, a post of great defence ; for, by possessing the island that closes up the

harbour, and which is accessible in very few places, a small force might secure this port against all the strength the Spaniards could muster in that part of the world; since the land, towards the harbour, is precipitous, and has six-fathoms water close to the shore, so that the *Pink* anchored within forty yards of it: whence it is obvious how impossible it would prove either to board or to cut out any vessel protected by a force posted on shore within pistol shot, and where those who were thus posted could not themselves be attacked.

All the time the *Pink* continued there they saw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a *periagua*, about a month after the arrival of the *Pink*, and consisted of an Indian, near forty years old, his wife and two children. They seemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog and a cat, a fishing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, some bark of trees intended for the covering of a hut, a reel, some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow hue with a very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread. The master of the *Pink*, as soon as he perceived them, sent his yawl, and brought them on board; fearing lest they might discover him, if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for securing them, but without any mixture of ill-usage or violence: for, in the day-time, they were permitted to go where they pleased about the ship, but at night were locked up in the fore-castle. As they were fed in the same manner as the rest of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they seemed greatly to relish, it did not at first appear that they were much dissatisfied with their situation, especially as the master took the Indian on shore when he went a shooting, and as all the crew treated them with great humanity; but it was soon perceived that, though the woman continued easy and cheerful, yet the man grew pensive and restless at his confinement. He seemed to be a person of good natural parts, and, though not capable of conversing with the *Pink's* people otherwise than by signs, was yet very curious and inquisitive, and showed great dexterity in the manner of making himself understood.

But the strongest proof of his sagacity was the manner of his getting away; for, after being in custody on board the *Pink* eight days, the scuttle of the fore-castle happened to be unnailed, and the following night, being extremely dark and stormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through

the unnailed scuttle, and then over the ship's side into the yawl; and to prevent being pursued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing astern, and immediately rowed ashore. All this he conducted with so much diligence and secrecy, that, though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, yet he was not discovered by them, till the noise of his oars in the water, after he had put off from the ship, gave them notice of his escape; and then it was too late either to prevent him or to pursue him; for their boats being all adrift, it was a considerable time before they could contrive the means of getting on shore themselves to search for their boats.

As it was supposed by some of them that the Indian still continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might suffer for want of provisions, they prevailed upon the master to leave a quantity of such food as they thought would be most agreeable to him in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it. And there was reason to conjecture that this piece of humanity was not altogether useless to him; for, on visiting the place some time after, it was found that the provision was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But though many of them were satisfied that the Indian still continued near them, others would needs conclude that he was gone to the Island of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would soon return with a force sufficient to surprise the Pink. On this occasion the master of the Pink was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it must be remembered that the master, from an ostentatious imitation of the practice of men-of-war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the setting of the watch. This he pretended was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the Pink was always on her guard. His crew being now well refreshed, and their wood and water sufficiently replenished, he, in a few days after the escape of the Indian, put to sea, and had a favourable passage to Juan Fernandez.

The Anna Pink was the last that joined the Commodore at Juan Fernandez. The remaining ships of the squadron were, the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The Severn and Pearl parted company with the squadron off Cape Noir, and, as we afterwards learnt, put back to the Brazils; so that,

of all the ships which came into the South Seas, the *Wager* was the only one that was missing. This ship had on board a few field-pieces mounted for land service, together with some cohorn mortars, and several kinds of artillery stores and pioneers' tools, intended for the operations on shore: therefore, as the enterprise on Baldivia had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, Captain Cheap was extremely solicitous that these materials, which were in his custody, might be ready before Baldivia.

But whilst the *Wager* was making the best of her way to her first rendezvous off the island of Socoro, whence she proposed to steer directly for Baldivia, she made land on the 14th of May about 47° south; and the captain, exerting himself in order to get clear of it, had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder and dislocate his shoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land; insomuch that the next morning, at daybreak, she struck on a sunken rock, and soon afterwards bilged, and grounded between two small islands, at about a musket-shot from the shore.

In this situation the ship continued entire a long time, so that all the crew had it in their power to get safe on shore; but a general confusion taking place, numbers of them, instead of consulting their safety, fell to pillaging the ship, arming themselves with the first weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who should oppose them. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got so extremely drunk, that some of them, falling down between decks, were drowned as the water flowed into the wreck. The captain, therefore, having done his utmost to get the whole crew on shore, was at last obliged to leave the mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers and such as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to send back the boats, to persuade those who remained to have some regard to their preservation, though all his efforts were for some time without success. However, the weather next day proving stormy, and there being great danger of the ship parting, they began to be alarmed with the fear of perishing, and were desirous of getting to land. But it seems their madness had not yet left them; for the boat not appearing to fetch them off so soon as they expected, they at last pointed a

four-pounder, which was on the quarter-deck, against the hut where they knew the captain resided on shore, and fired two shots, which passed but just over it.

From this specimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame some conjecture of the disorder and anarchy which took place when they at last got on shore. For the men conceived that, by the loss of the ship, the authority of the officers was at an end; and they being now on a desolate coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be got, except what should be saved out of the wreck, this was another insurmountable source of discord: since the working upon the wreck, and the securing the provisions, so that they might be preserved for future exigencies as much as possible, and the taking care that what was necessary for their present subsistence might be sparingly and equally distributed, were matters not to be brought about but by discipline and subordination. And the mutinous disposition of the people, stimulated by the impulses of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpose ineffectual; so that there were continual concealments, frauds, and thefts, which animated each man against his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and contests. And hence, there was a perverse and malevolent disposition constantly kept up amongst them, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.

Besides these heart-burnings, occasioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which set the greatest part of the people at variance with the captain. This was, their differing with him in opinion on the measures to be pursued in the present exigency; for the captain was determined, if possible, to fit up the boats in the best manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward. Since, having with him above an hundred men in health, having gotten some fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could master any Spanish vessel they should encounter in those seas; and he thought he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandez; and he further insisted that, should they light on no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would easily carry them thither. But this was a scheme that, however prudent, was no ways relished by the generality of his people; for being quite jaded with the

distresses and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of prosecuting an enterprise farther which had hitherto proved so disastrous. The common resolution, therefore, was to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the rest of the boats, to steer to the southward, to pass through the Straits of Magellan, and to range along the east side of South America, till they should arrive at Brazil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a passage to Great Britain. This project was at first sight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was proposed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, that circumstance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniences, and made them adhere to it with insurmountable obstinacy; so that the captain himself, though he never changed his opinion, yet was obliged to give way to the torrent, and, in appearance, to acquiesce in this resolution, whilst he endeavoured, underhand, to give it all the obstruction he could; particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat, which he contrived should be of such a size, that though it might serve to carry them to Juan Fernandez, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of so long a navigation as that to the coast of Brazil.

But the captain, by his steady opposition, at first, to this favourite project, had much embittered the people against him: to which, likewise, the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a midshipman, whose name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himself with great abuse and insolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the least doubted but that there were some violent measures in agitation, in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader: for which reason the captain, and those about him, constantly kept themselves on their guard. One day the purser having, by the captain's orders, stopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man did not complain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great bitterness, and grossly insulted the purser, who was then delivering out the provisions, just by the captain's tent, and was himself sufficiently violent. The purser, enraged by his scurrility, and

perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out, "A mutiny!" adding, "The dog has pistols;" and then himself fired a pistol at Cozens, which, however, missed him. But the captain, on this outcry, and the report of the pistol, rushed out of his tent, and not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens, as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately shot him in the head without further deliberation: and though he did not kill him on the spot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

However, this incident, though sufficiently displeasing to the people, did yet for a considerable time awe them to their duty, and rendered them more submissive to the captain's authority; but at last, when, towards the middle of October, the long-boat was nearly completed, and they were preparing to put to sea, the additional provocation he gave them by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might, at length, engage a party sufficient to overturn this favourite measure, made them resolve to make use of the death of Cozens as a reason for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England, to be tried for murder, and he was accordingly confined under a guard. But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England, if their commander should be present to confront them; and, therefore, when they were just ready to put to sea, they set him at liberty, leaving him and the few who chose to take their fortunes with him no other embarkation but the yawl, to which the barge was afterwards added, by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ship was wrecked, there were alive on board the Wager near a hundred and thirty persons; of these above thirty died during their stay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat and the cutter to the southward; so that there remained with the captain after their departure no more than nineteen persons, which, however, were as many as the barge and the yawl, the only embarkations left them, could well carry off. It was the 13th of October, five months after the shipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a schooner, weighed and stood to the southward, giving to the captain, who, with Lieutenant Hamilton, of the land forces, and the surgeon, were then on the beach, three cheers at their departure; and on the 29th of January following

they arrived at Rio Grande, on the coast of Brazil; but having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places they touched at, and a greater number having perished by hunger during the course of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them remaining when they arrived in that port. Indeed, the undertaking of itself was a most extraordinary one; for (not to mention the length of the run) the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea in her; and their stock of provision (being only what they had saved out of the ship) was extremely slender; they had this additional misfortune besides, that the cutter, the only boat they had with them, soon broke away from the stern, and was staved to pieces; so that, when their provision and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on shore to search for a fresh supply.

After the long-boat and cutter were gone, the captain and those who were left with him proposed to pass to the northward in the barge and yawl; but the weather was so bad, and the difficulty of subsisting so great, that it was two months, from the departure of the long-boat, before he was able to put to sea. It seems the place where the *Wager* was cast away was not a part of the continent, as was at first imagined, but an island at some distance from the main, which afforded no other sorts of provision but shell-fish and a few herbs; and as the greatest part of what they had gotten from the ship was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in extreme want of food, especially as they chose to preserve what little sea provisions remained for their store when they should go to the northward. During their residence at this island, which was by the seamen denominated *Wager's Island*, they had now and then a straggling canoe or two of Indians, who came and bartered their fish and other provisions with our people. This was some little relief to their necessities, and at another season might perhaps have been greater; for as there were several Indian huts on the shore, it was supposed that in some years, during the height of summer, many of these savages might resort thither to fish. Indeed, from what has been related in the account of the *Anna Pink*, it would seem to be the general practice of those Indians to frequent this coast in the summer time, for the benefit of fishing, and to retire in the winter into a better climate, more to the northward.

On this mention of the *Anna Pink*, I cannot but observe how much it is to be lamented, that the *Wager's* people had no knowledge of her being so near them on the coast; for as she was not above thirty leagues distant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the same time the *Wager* was lost, and was a fine roomy ship, she could easily have taken them all on board, and have carried them to *Juan Fernandez*. Indeed, I suspect she was still nearer to them than what is here estimated; for several of the *Wager's* people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which I conceive could be no other than the evening-gun fired from the *Anna Pink*, especially as what was heard at *Wager's Island* was about the same time of the day. But to return to Captain Cheap.

Upon the 14th of December, the captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yawl, in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the provisions they could amass from the wreck of the ship; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea, when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea ran so high that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions overboard, to avoid immediate destruction. This was a terrible misfortune, in a part of the world where food is so difficult to be got: however, they persisted in their design, putting on shore as often as they could to seek subsistence. But about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befell them, for the yawl sunk at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. Notwithstanding these disasters, they still kept on their course to the northward; though greatly delayed by the perverseness of the winds, and the frequent interruptions which their search after food occasioned, and constantly struggling with a series of the most disastrous events: till at last, about the end of January, having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a headland, which they supposed to be what the Spaniards called, *Cape Tres Montes*, it was unanimously resolved, finding the difficulties insurmountable, to give over this expedition, and to return again to *Wager's Island*, where they got back about the middle of February, quite disheartened and dejected with their reiterated disappointments, and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return they providentially met with several pieces of beef, which had been washed out of the wreck, and were swimming in the sea. This was a most seasonable relief to them after the hardships they had endured : and to complete their success, there came in a short time two canoes of Indians, among which was a native of Chiloe, who spoke a little Spanish ; and the surgeon who was with Captain Cheap, understanding that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people in the barge, he should have her, and all that belonged to her, for his pains. Accordingly on the 6th of March, the eleven persons to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition ; but after having proceeded for a few days, the captain and four of his principal officers being on shore, the six, who together with an Indian remained in the barge, put off with her to sea, and did not return again.

By this means, there were left on shore Captain Cheap, Mr. Hamilton, lieutenant of marines, the Honourable Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, midshipman, and Mr. Elliot, the surgeon. One would have thought that their distresses had, long before this time, been incapable of augmentation ; but they found, on reflection, that their present situation was much more dismaying than anything they had yet gone through, being left on a desolate coast, without any provisions, or the means of procuring any ; for their arms, ammunition, and every convenience they were masters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge.

But when they had sufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumstances of this unexpected calamity, and were persuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that of the Indian who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them ; for it seems he had left Captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a fishing, and had in the mean time committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried to sea in the barge. When he came on shore, and found the barge gone, and his companion missing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be persuaded that the other Indian was not murdered ; yet being at last satisfied with the account that was given him, he still undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and (as

the Indians are well skilled in fishing and fowling), to procure them provisions by the way.

About the middle of March, Captain Cheap and the four that were left with him set out for Chiloe, the Indian having provided a number of canoes, and gotten many of his neighbours together for that purpose. Soon after they embarked, Mr. Elliot, the surgeon, died, so that there now remained only four of the whole company. At last, after a very complicated passage by land and water, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Campbell, arrived, in the beginning of June, at the island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but on account of some quarrel among the Indians, Mr. Hamilton did not get there till two months later. Thus was it above a twelvemonth from the loss of the *Wager* before this fatiguing peregrination ended, and not till, by a variety of misfortunes, the company was diminished from twenty to no more than four, and those too brought so low, that had their distresses continued but a few days longer, in all probability, none of them would have survived; for the captain himself was with difficulty recovered, and the rest were so reduced, by the severity of the weather, their labour, their want of food, and of all kinds of necessaries, that it was wonderful how they supported themselves so long. After some stay at Chiloe, the captain and the three who were with him were sent to Valparaiso, and thence to St. Jago, the capital of Chili, where they continued about a year: but on the advice of a cartel being settled betwixt Great Britain and Spain, Captain Cheap, Mr. Byron, and Mr. Hamilton were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ship. The other midshipman, Mr. Campbell, having changed his religion whilst at St. Jago, chose to go back to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterwards to Spain, on board the *Asia*; but having there failed in his endeavours to procure a commission from the court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get reinstated in the British Navy.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ENEMY IN SIGHT.

ABOUT a week after the arrival of our victualler, the *Tryal* sloop, that had been sent to the island of *Masa Fuero*, returned to an anchor at *Juan Fernandez*, having been round that island without meeting any part of our squadron. As upon this occasion the island of *Masa Fuero* was more particularly examined than, I dare say, it had ever been before, or perhaps ever will be again; and as the knowledge of it may, in certain circumstances, be of great consequence hereafter, I think it incumbent on me to insert the accounts given of this place, by the officers of the *Tryal* sloop.

The Spaniards have generally mentioned two islands under the name of *Juan Fernandez*, styling them the greater and the less; the greater being that island where we anchored, and the less being the island we are now describing, which, because it is more distant from the continent, they have distinguished by the name of *Masa Fuero*. The *Tryal* sloop found that it bore from the greater *Juan Fernandez* w. by s., and was about twenty-two leagues distant. It is a much larger and better spot than has been generally reported; for former writers have represented it as a small barren rock, destitute of wood and water, and altogether inaccessible; whereas our people found it was covered with trees, and that there were several fine falls of water pouring down its sides into the sea: they found, too, that there was a place where a ship might come to an anchor on the north side of it, though, indeed, the anchorage is inconvenient; for the bank extends but a little way, is very steep, and has very deep water upon it, so that you must come to an anchor very near the shore, and there lie exposed to all winds but a southerly one: and, besides the inconvenience of the anchorage, there is also a reef of rocks running off the eastern point of the island, about two miles in length; though there is little danger to be feared from them, because they are always to be seen by the sea breaking over them. This place has at present one advantage beyond the island of *Juan Fernandez*; for it abounds with goats, who, not being accustomed to be disturbed, were noways shy, or apprehensive of danger, till they had been

frequently fired at. These animals reside here in great tranquillity, the Spaniards not having thought the island considerable enough to be frequented by their enemies, and not having, therefore, been solicitous to destroy the provisions upon it; so that no dogs had been hitherto set on shore there. Besides the goats, our people found there vast numbers of seals and sea-lions: and, upon the whole, they seemed to imagine, that though it was not the most eligible place for a ship to refresh at, yet, in case of necessity, it might afford some sort of shelter, and prove of considerable use, especially to a single ship, who might apprehend meeting with a superior force at Fernandez.

The latter part of the month of August was spent in unloading the provisions from the *Anna Pink*; when we had the mortification to find that great quantities of our provisions, as bread, rice, goats, etc., were decayed and unfit for use. This was owing to the water the *Pink* had made by her working and straining in bad weather; for hereby several of her casks had rotted, and her bags were soaked through. And now, as we had no further occasion for her service, the Commodore, pursuant to his orders from the Board of Admiralty, sent notice to Mr. Gerard, her master, that he discharged the *Anna Pink* from attending the squadron; and gave him, at the same time, a certificate, specifying how long she had been employed. In consequence of this dismissal, her master was at liberty either to return directly to England, or to make the best of his way to any port, where he thought he could take in such a cargo as would answer the interest of his owners. But the master, being sensible of the bad condition of the ship, and of her unfitness for any such voyage, wrote the next day an answer to the Commodore's message, acquainting Mr. Anson, that from the great quantity of water the *Pink* had made in her passage round Cape Horn, and since that, in the tempestuous weather she had met with on the coast of Chili, he had reason to apprehend that her bottom was very much decayed: he added, that her upper works were rotten abaft; that she was extremely leaky; that her fore-beam was broke; and that, in his opinion, it was impossible to proceed to sea with her before she had been thoroughly refitted; and he, therefore, requested the Commodore, that the carpenters of the squadron might be directed to survey her, that their judgment of her condition might be known. In compliance with this desire, Mr. Anson immediately

ordered the carpenters to take a careful and strict survey of the Anna Pink, and to give him a faithful report, under their hands, of the condition in which they found her, directing them at the same time to proceed herein with such circumspection, that if they should be hereafter called upon they might be able to make oath of the veracity of their proceedings. Pursuant to these orders, the carpenters immediately set about the examination, and the next day made their report; which was, that the Pink had no less than fourteen knees and twelve beams broken and decayed; that one breast-hook was broken and another rotten; that her water-ways were open and decayed; that two standards and several champs were broken, besides others which were rotten; that all her iron-work was greatly decayed; that her spirkiting and timbers were very rotten; and that, having ripped off part of her sheeting, they found her wales and outside planks extremely defective, and her bows and decks very leaky; and, in consequence of these defects and decays, they certified that, in their opinion, she could not depart from the island without great hazard, unless she was first of all thoroughly refitted.

The thorough refitting of the Anna Pink proposed by the carpenters was, in our present situation, impossible to be complied with, as all the plank and iron in the squadron was insufficient for that purpose. And now the master, finding his own sentiments confirmed by the opinion of all the carpenters, he offered a petition to the Commodore on behalf of his owners, desiring that, since it appeared he was incapable of leaving the island, Mr. Anson would please to purchase the hull and furniture of the Pink for the use of the squadron. Hereupon the Commodore ordered an inventory to be taken of every particular belonging to the Pink, with its just value; and as, by this inventory, it appeared that there were many stores which would be useful in refitting the other ships, and which were at present very scarce in the squadron, by reason of the great quantities that had been already expended, he agreed with Mr. Gerard to purchase the whole together for 300*l*. The Pink being thus broken up, Mr. Gerard, with the hands belonging to the Pink, were sent on board the Gloucester; as that ship had buried the greatest number of men, in proportion to her complement: but afterwards, one or two of them were received on board the Centurion, on their own petition, they being extremely averse to sailing

in the same ship with their old master, on account of some particular ill-usage they conceived they had suffered from him.

This transaction brought us down to the beginning of September, and our people by this time were so far recovered of the scurvy that there was little danger of burying any more at present. We had buried on board the *Centurion*, since our leaving St. Helen's, two hundred and ninety-two, and had now remaining on board two hundred and fourteen. This will doubtless appear a most extraordinary mortality; but yet, on board the *Gloucester*, it had been much greater; for, out of a much smaller crew than ours, they had lost the same number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected, that on board the *Trial* the slaughter would have been the most terrible, as her decks were almost constantly knee-deep in water; but it happened otherwise, for she escaped more favourably than the rest, since she only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havoc of this disease had fallen still severer on the invalids and marines than on the sailors; for, on board the *Centurion*, out of fifty invalids and seventy-nine marines, there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines: and on board the *Gloucester*, every invalid perished; and out of forty-eight marines, only two escaped. From this account it appears, that the three ships together departed from England with nine hundred and sixty-one men on board, of whom six hundred and twenty-six were dead before this time; so that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be distributed amongst three ships, amounted to no more than three hundred and thirty-five men and boys—a number greatly insufficient for the manning the *Centurion* alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three, with the utmost exertion of their strength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was still the more terrifying, as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of Pizarro's squadron, and had reason to suppose that some part of it, at least, had got round into these seas: indeed, we were satisfied, from our own experience, that they must have suffered greatly in their passage; but then every port in the South Seas was open to them, and the whole power of Chili and Peru would doubtless be united in refreshing and refitting them, and recruiting the numbers they had lost. Besides, we had some obscure knowledge of a force to be sent out from Callao; and however contemptible the

ships and sailors of this part of the world may have been generally esteemed, it was scarcely possible for anything bearing the name of a ship of force to be feebler or less considerable than ourselves. And had there been nothing to be apprehended from the naval power of the Spaniards in this part of the world, yet our enfeebled condition would, nevertheless, give us the greatest uneasiness, as we were incapable of attempting any of their considerable places; for the risking of twenty men, weak as we then were, was risking the safety of the whole: so that we conceived we should be necessitated to content ourselves with what few prizes we could pick up at sea, before we were discovered; after which we should, in all probability, be obliged to depart with precipitation, and esteem ourselves fortunate to regain our native country, leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconsiderable mischief they had received from a squadron, whose equipment had filled them with such dreadful apprehensions. This was a subject on which we had reason to imagine the Spanish ostentation would remarkably exert itself; though the causes of our disappointment and their security, were neither to be sought for in their valour nor our misconduct.

Such were the desponding reflections which, at that time, arose on the review and comparison of our remaining strength with our original numbers: indeed, our fears were far from being groundless, or disproportioned to our feeble and almost desperate situation; for though the final event proved more honourable than we had foreboded, yet the intermediate calamities did likewise greatly surpass our most gloomy apprehensions; and could they have been predicted to us at this island of Juan Fernandez, they would doubtless have appeared insurmountable.

The season for navigation in this climate now drawing near, we exerted ourselves in getting our ships in readiness for sea. We converted the fore-mast of the victualler into a main-mast for the Tryal sloop; and still flattering ourselves with the possibility of the arrival of some other ships of our squadron, we intended to leave the main-mast of the victualler to make a mizzen-mast for the Wager. Thus, all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we, on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, espied a sail to the N.E., which continued to approach us, till her courses appeared even with the horizon. Whilst she advanced, we had great hopes she might prove one of our own squadron; but as, at length, she steered away to

the eastward, without hauling in for the island, we thence concluded she must be a Spaniard.

And now great disputes were set on foot about the possibility of her having discovered our tents on shore, some of us strongly insisting that she had doubtless been near enough to perceive something that had given her a jealousy of an enemy, which had occasioned her standing to the eastward, without hauling in: however, leaving these contests to be settled afterwards, it was resolved to pursue her, and the Centurion being in the greatest forwardness, we immediately got all our hands on board, set up our rigging, bent our sails, and by five in the afternoon got under sail. We had at this time very little wind, so that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was lasted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flatted to a calm. The night coming on, we lost sight of the chase, and were extremely impatient for the return of daylight, in hopes to find that she had been becalmed as well as we: though I must confess that her greater distance from the land was a reasonable ground for suspecting the contrary; as we, indeed, found in the morning, to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no sight of the ship from the mast-head. But as we were now satisfied that it was an enemy, and the first we had seen in these seas, we resolved not to give over the search lightly; and a small breeze springing up from the W.N.W., we got up our top-gallant-mast and yards, set all the sails, and steered to the S.E., in hopes of retrieving our chase, which we imagined to be bound to Valparaiso. We continued on this course all that day and the next, and then not getting sight of our chase, we gave over the pursuit, conceiving that by that time she must in all probability have reached her port. Being therefore determined to return to Juan Fernandez, we hauled up to the S.W., with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there sprung up a fresh gale from the W.S.W., which obliged us to tack, and stand to the N.W.

At daybreak, we were agreeably surprised with the sight of a sail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues distant. We immediately crowded all the sail we could, and stood after her, and soon perceived it not to be the same ship we originally gave chase to. She at first bore down upon us, showing Spanish colours, and making a signal as to her

consort; but observing that we did not answer her signal, she instantly loosed close to the wind, and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in spirits, and put the ship about with great briskness; and as the chase appeared to be a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we conceived that she was a man-of-war, and probably one of Pizarro's squadron: this induced the Commodore to order all the officers' cabins to be knocked down and thrown overboard, with several casks of water and provisions which stood between the guns; so that we had soon a clear ship, ready for an engagement. About nine o'clock, we had thick hazy weather and a shower of rain, during which we lost sight of the chase; and we were apprehensive, if this dark weather should continue, that, by going upon the other tack, or by some other artifice, she might escape us; but it clearing up in less than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and fore-reached upon her considerably, and were then near enough to discover that she was only a merchantman, without so much as a single tier of guns. About half-an-hour after twelve, being got within a reasonable distance of her, we fired four shots amongst her rigging; on which they lowered their top-sails and bore down to us, but in very great confusion, their top-gallant sails and stay-sails all fluttering in the wind: this was owing to their having let run their sheets and halyards just as we fired at them; after which, not a man amongst them had courage enough to venture aloft to take them in.

As soon as the vessel came within hail of us, the Commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoisted out the boat, and sent Mr. Saumarez, his first-lieutenant, to take possession of the prize, with directions to send all the prisoners on board the *Centurion*, but first the officers and passengers. When Mr. Saumarez came on board them, they received him at the side with the strongest tokens of the most abject submission; for they were all of them (especially the passengers, twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greatest apprehensions of meeting with very severe and cruel usage; but the lieutenant endeavoured with great courtesy to dissipate their fright, assuring them that their fears were altogether groundless, and that they would find a generous enemy in the Commodore, who was not less remarkable for his lenity and humanity than for his resolution and courage. The prisoners, who were first

sent on board the *Centurion*, informed us, that our prize was called *Nuestra Senora del Monte Carmelo*, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamora.

Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of Quito, somewhat resembling our English coarse broadcloths, but inferior to them. They had besides several bales of a coarser sort of cloth, of different colours, somewhat like Colchester bays, called by them *Pannia de Tierra*, with a few bales of cotton, and some tobacco, which, though strong, was not ill flavoured. These were the principal goods on board her: but we found besides what was to us much more valuable than the rest of the cargo; this was some trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three serons of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200lbs avoirdupois. The ship's burthen was about four hundred and fifty tons; she had fifty-three sailors on board, both whites and blacks; she came from Callao, and had been twenty-seven days at sea before she fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of Valparaiso, in the kingdom of Chili, and proposed to have returned from thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, some gold, dried beef, and small cordage, which at Callao they convert into large rope. The prisoners informed us, that they left Callao in company with two other ships, whom they had parted with some days before, and that, at first, they conceived us to be one of their company: and, by the description we gave them of the ship we had chased from Juan Fernandez, they assured us she was of their number, but that the coming in sight of that island was directly repugnant to the merchant's instructions, who had expressly forbid it, as knowing that, if any English squadron was in those seas, the island of Fernandez was most probably the place of their rendezvous.

We here first learnt, with certainty, the force and destination of that squadron which cruised off the *Madeiras* at our arrival there, and afterwards chased the *Pearl* in our passage to Port St. Julian. This we now knew was a squadron composed of five large Spanish ships, commanded by Admiral Pizarro, and purposely fitted out to traverse our designs. We had at the same time, too, the satisfaction to find that Pizarro, after his utmost endeavours to gain his passage into these seas, had been forced back again into the river *Plata*, with the loss of two of the largest ships: and besides this disappointment of Pizarro, which, considering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we farther learnt, that though an

embargo had been laid upon all shipping in these seas, by the Viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, on a supposition that about that time we might arrive upon the coast, yet it now no longer subsisted; for on the account sent overland by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they knew we must have encountered, as we were at sea during the same time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to set sail from St. Catherine, they were fully satisfied that we were either shipwrecked, or had perished at sea, or at least had been obliged to put back again: and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the firm persuasion of our having miscarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.

This last article made us flatter ourselves that, as the enemy was still a stranger to our having got round Cape Horn, and the navigation of these seas was restored, we might meet with some valuable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourselves for the incapacity we were under of attempting any of their considerable settlements on shore. And thus much we were certain of, from the information of our prisoners, that, whatever our success might be, as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak as we were, from the Spanish force in this part of the world; though we discovered that we had been in most imminent peril from the enemy when we least apprehended it, and when our other distresses were at the greatest height; for we learnt, from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the express he despatched to the Viceroy of Peru after his return to the river Plata, had intimated to him, that it was possible some part at least of the English squadron might get round; but that, as he was certain from his own experience, if they did arrive in those seas, it must be in a very weak and defenceless condition, he advised the Viceroy, in order to be secure, at all events, to send what ships of war he had to the southward, where, in all probability, they would intercept us singly, before we had an opportunity of touching at any port for refreshment; in which case he doubted not but we should prove an easy conquest.

The Viceroy of Peru approved of this advice; and as he had already fitted out four ships of force from Callao, one of fifty guns, two of forty guns, and one of twenty-four guns, which were intended to join Pizarro when he arrived on the coast of Chili, the Viceroy now stationed three of these off the port of Concepcion, and one of them at the island of Fernandez,

where they continued cruising for us till the 6th of June ; and then not seeing anything of us, and conceiving it to be impossible that we could have kept the sea so long, they quitted their cruise, and returned to Callao, fully persuaded that we had either perished, or, at least, had been driven back.

Now, as the time of their quitting their stations was but a few days before our arrival at the island of Fernandez, it is evident that had we made that island on our first search for it, without hauling in for the main to secure our easting ; had we, I say, made the island on the 28th of May, when we first expected to see it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtless fallen in with some of the Spanish squadron ; and, in the distressed condition we then were, the meeting with a healthy, well-provided enemy, was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might, perhaps, have proved fatal not only to us, but to the Tryal, the Gloucester, and the Anna Pink, who separately joined us, and who were each of them less capable than we were of making any considerable resistance. I shall only add, that the Spanish ships sent out to intercept us had been greatly shattered by a storm during their cruise ; and that, after their arrival at Callao, they had been laid up.

Having thus satisfied ourselves in the material articles of our inquiry, and having gotten on board the Centurion most of the prisoners, and all the silver, we, at eight in the same evening, made sail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at six the next morning, discovered the island of Fernandez, where the following day both we and our prize came to an anchor.

By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandez, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined ; and it appearing from them, and from the accounts of our prisoners, that several other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiso, Mr. Anson despatched the Tryal sloop the very next morning to cruise off the last-mentioned port, reinforcing her with ten hands from on board his own ship. Mr. Anson likewise resolved, on the intelligence recited above, to separate the ships under his command, and employ them in distinct cruises, as he thought that by this means we should not only increase our chance for prizes, but that we should likewise run a less risk of alarming the coast, and of being discovered.

As these occupations took us up four or five days, with all our industry, the Commodore in that interval directed that the guns belonging to the *Anna Pink*, being four six-pounders, four four-pounders, and two swivels, should be mounted on board the *Carmelo*, our prize; and having sent on board the *Gloucester* six passengers and twenty-three seamen to assist in navigating the ship, he directed Captain Mitchell to leave the island as soon as possible, the service demanding the utmost despatch, ordering him to proceed to the latitude of five degrees south, and there to cruise off the high land of Paita, at such a distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered. On this station he was to continue till he should be joined by the Commodore, which would be whenever it should be known that the Viceroy had fitted out the ships at Callao, or on Mr. Anson's receiving any other intelligence that should make it necessary to unite our strength. These orders being delivered to the Captain of the *Gloucester*, and all our business completed, we on the Saturday following, the 19th of September, weighed our anchor in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our last leave of the island of Juan Fernandez, and steering to the eastward with an intention of joining the *Tryal* sloop in her station off Valparaiso.

CHAPTER XIV.

SEIZURE OF AN IMPORTANT PRIZE.

ALTHOUGH the *Centurion* with the *Carmelo* weighed from the bay of Juan Fernandez on the 19th of September, leaving the *Gloucester* at anchor behind her; yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22nd of the same month, in the evening, before we lost sight of the island; after which we continued our course to the eastward in order to reach our station, and to join the *Tryal* off Valparaiso. The next night the weather proved squally, and we split our main top-sail, which we handed for the present, but got it repaired, and set it again the next morning. In the evening, a little before sunset, we saw two sail to the eastward; on which our prize stood directly from us to avoid giving any suspicion of our being cruisers; whilst we in the

meantime made ourselves ready for an engagement, and steered with all our canvas towards the two ships we had discovered. We soon perceived that one of these, which had the appearance of being a very stout ship, made directly for us, whilst the other kept at a great distance. By seven o'clock we were within pistol-shot of the nearest, and had a broadside ready to pour into her, the gunners having their matches in their hands, and only waiting for orders to fire; but as we knew it was now impossible for her to escape us, Mr. Anson, before he permitted us to fire, ordered the master to hail the ship in Spanish, on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr. Hughes, Lieutenant of the *Tryal*, answered us in English, and informed us that she was a prize taken by the *Tryal* a few days before, and that the other sail at a distance was the *Tryal* herself, disabled in her masts.

We were soon after joined by the *Tryal*; and Captain Saunders, her commander, came on board the *Centurion*. He acquainted the Commodore, that he had taken this ship on the 18th instant; that she was a prime sailer, and had cost him thirty-six hours' chase before he could come up with her; that for some time he gained so little upon her, that he began to despair of taking her; and the Spaniards, though alarmed at first with seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them, the *Tryal*'s hull being so low in the water that no part of it appeared; yet knowing the goodness of their ship, and finding how little the *Tryal* neared them, they at length laid aside their fears, and began to think themselves secure; for altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they had some chance of escaping, but a small crevice in one of the shutters rendered all their cautions ineffectual, for through this crevice the people on board the *Tryal* perceived a light, which they chased till they came within gun-shot; and then Captain Saunders alarmed them, unexpectedly, with a broadside, when they flattered themselves they were got out of his reach: however, for some time after they still kept the same sail abroad, and it was not observed that this first salute had made any impression on them; but just as the *Tryal* was preparing to repeat her broadside, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without any opposition. She was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about six hundred tons burthen, and was called the *Arranzazu*. She was bound from Callao to Val-

paraíso, and had much the same cargo with the Carmelo, we had taken before, except that her silver amounted only to about 5000*l.* sterling.

But to balance this success, we had the misfortune to find that the Tryal had sprung her main-mast, and that her main top-mast had come by the board; and as we were all of us standing to the eastward the next morning with a fresh gale at south, she had the additional ill-luck to spring her fore-mast; so that now she had not a mast left on which she could carry sail. These unhappy incidents were still aggravated by the impossibility we were just then under of assisting her; for the wind blew so hard, and raised such a hollow sea, that we could not venture to hoist out our boat, and, consequently, could have no communication with her; so that we were obliged to lie to for the greatest part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herself in her present unhappy situation. It was no small accumulation to these misfortunes, that we were all the while driving to the leeward of our station, at the very time too, when, by our intelligence, we had reason to expect several of the enemy's ships would appear upon the coast, who would now gain the port of Valparaíso without obstruction.

The weather proving somewhat more moderate, on the 27th we sent our boat for the Captain of the Tryal, who, when he came on board of us, produced an instrument signed by himself and all his officers, representing that the sloop, besides being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather it was necessary to ply the pumps constantly, and that they were then scarcely sufficient to keep her free; so that, in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increased upon them; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at present so very defective, that if they met with much bad weather they must all inevitably perish; and, therefore, they petitioned the Commodore to take some measures for their future safety. But the refitting of the Tryal, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking that, in the present conjuncture, greatly exceeded our power; for we had no masts to spare her, we had no stores to complete her rigging, nor had we any port where she might be hove down, and her bottom examined: besides, had a port, and proper requisites for this purpose, been in our possession, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in so critical a conjuncture, to have loitered

away so much time as would have been necessary for these operations. The Commodore, therefore, had no choice left him, but was under the necessity of taking out her people, and destroying her: however, as he conceived it expedient to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the Tryal's prize (which had been often employed by the Viceroy of Peru as a man-of-war) to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, manning her with the Tryal's crew, and giving commissions to the Captain and all the inferior officers accordingly.

This new frigate, when in the Spanish service, had mounted thirty-two guns, but she was now to have only twenty, which were the twelve that were on board the Tryal, and eight that had belonged to the Anna Pink. When this affair was thus resolved on, Mr. Anson gave orders to Captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the sloop the arms, stores, ammunition, and everything that could be of any use to the other ships, and then to scuttle and sink her. After Captain Saunders had seen her destroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate and to cruise off the high land of Valparaiso, keeping it from him N.N.W., at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues: for as all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward steer that course, Mr. Anson proposed, by this means, to stop any intelligence that might be despatched to Callao, of two of their ships being missing, which might give them apprehensions of the English squadron being in their neighbourhood. The Tryal's prize was to continue on this station twenty-four days, and if not joined by the Commodore at the expiration of that term, she was then to proceed down the coast to Pisco, or Nasca, where she would be certain to meet with Mr. Anson. The Commodore likewise ordered Lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the Centurion's prize, to keep company with Captain Saunders, both to assist him in unloading the sloop, and also that by spreading in their cruise, there might be less danger of any of the enemy's ships slipping by unobserved. These orders being despatched, the Centurion parted from the other vessels, at eleven in the evening, on the 27th of September, directing her course to the southward, with a view of cruising, for some days, to the windward of Valparaiso.

As we might suppose the Gloucester by this time to be drawing near the high land of Paita, we were enabled, by our separate stations, to intercept all vessels employed either betwixt Peru

and Chili to the southward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward ; since the principal trade from Peru to Chili being carried on to the port of Valparaiso, the Centurion cruising to the windward of Valparaiso would in all probability meet with them, as it is the constant practice of those ships to fall in with the coast to the windward of that port : the Gloucester would in like manner be in the way of the trade bound from Panama, or to the northward of any part of Peru ; since the high land off which she was stationed is constantly made by every ship in that voyage. And, whilst the Centurion and Gloucester were thus situated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the Tryal's prize and Centurion's prize were as conveniently posted for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward : for it was on board these vessels that it was to be feared some account of us might possibly be sent to Peru.

But the most prudent dispositions carry with them only a probability of success, and can never ensure its certainty. Thus, in the present case, the distress of the Tryal, and our quitting our station to assist her, gave an opportunity to all the ships bound to Valparaiso to reach that port without molestation, during this unlucky interval. So that, though after leaving Captain Saunders we were very expeditious in regaining our station, where we got the 29th, at noon ; yet in plying on and off till the 6th of October, we had not the good fortune to discover a sail of any sort ; and then, having lost all hopes of meeting with better success by a longer stay, we made sail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes, but when we arrived off the high land, where they were directed to cruise, we did not find them, though we continued there four or five days. We supposed that some chase had occasioned their leaving their station, and therefore we proceeded down the coast to the high land of Nasca, which was the second rendezvous, where Captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we got on the 21st, and were in great expectation of falling in with some of the enemy's vessels, as both the accounts of former voyages, and the information of our prisoners, assured us that all ships bound to Callao constantly make this land to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But, notwithstanding the advantages of this station, we saw no sail till the 2nd of November, when two ships appeared in sight together : we immediately gave them chase, and soon perceived that they were the Tryal's and

Centurion's prizes : as they had the wind of us, we brought-to, and waited their coming up.

We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruise than we were, for they had seen no vessel since they separated from us. The little success we all had, and our certainty that had any ships been stirring in these seas for some time past we must have met with them, made us believe that the enemy at Valparaiso, on the missing of the two ships we had taken, had suspected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had consequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the southern parts. We likewise apprehended that they might by this time be fitting out the men-of-war at Callao ; as we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an express from Valparaiso to reach Lima in twenty-nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty since we had taken our first prize. These apprehensions of an embargo along the coast, and of the equipment of the Spanish squadron at Callao, determined the Commodore to hasten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join Captain Mitchell (off Paita) as soon as possible, that our strength being united, we might be prepared to give the ships from Callao a warm reception if they dared to put to sea.

With this view, we bore away the same afternoon, taking particular care to keep at such a distance from the shore that there might be no danger of our being discovered ; for we knew that all the country ships were commanded, under the severest penalty, not to sail by the port of Callao without stopping ; and as this order was constantly complied with, we should undoubtedly be known for enemies if we were seen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the Spanish squadron in our route, the Commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew, with which he had formerly manned the Carmelo. And now standing to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the small island called St. Gallan, which bore from us N.N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., about seven leagues distant.

By the 5th of November, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the high land of Barranca, lying in $10^{\circ} 36'$ south, bearing from us N.E. by E., distant eight or nine leagues ; and an hour and a half afterwards we had the satisfaction, so long wished for, of seeing a sail. She first appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chase ; but the Centurion so much outsailed the two prizes, that we soon ran them out of sight, and gained considerably on the chase : how-

ever, night coming on before we came up with her, we about seven o'clock lost sight of her, and were in some perplexity what course to steer; but, at last, Mr. Anson resolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his sails set, and not to change his course: for though we had no doubt but the chase would alter her course in the night, yet as it was uncertain what tack she would go upon, it was thought prudent to keep on our course, as we must by this means unavoidably come near her, rather than change it on conjecture; when, if we should mistake, we must infallibly lose her.

Thus then we continued the chase about an hour and a half, in the dark, some one or other on board us constantly imagining they discerned her sails on right ahead of us; but at length Mr. Brett, our second lieutenant, did really discover her about four points on the larboard bow, steering off to the seaward: we immediately clapped the helm a-weather, and stood for her; and, in less than an hour, came up with her, and having fired fourteen shots at her, she struck. Our third lieutenant, Mr. Dennis, was sent in the boat with sixteen men, to take possession of the prize, and to return the prisoners to our ship. This vessel was named the *Santa Teresa de Jesus*, built at Guayaquil, of about three hundred tons burthen; and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biscayer: she was bound from Guayaquil to Callao, her loading consisted of timber, cocoa, cocoa-nuts, tobacco, hides, Pito thread, Quito cloth, wax, etc. The specie on board her was inconsiderable, being principally small silver money, and not amounting to more than 170*l.* sterling.

Besides our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country born of Spanish parents, together with three black slaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldest about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at, that women of these years should be excessively alarmed at the falling into the hands of an enemy, whom, from the former outrages of the *Buccaneers*, and by the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal of all mankind. These apprehensions, too, were, in the present instance, exaggerated by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women, and the riotous disposition which they might well expect to find in a set of sailors. Full of these

terrors, the women all hid themselves upon our officer's coming on board, and when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could persuade them to approach the light: however, he soon satisfied them by the humanity of his conduct, and by his assurances of their future security and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear.

Nor were these assurances of the officer invalidated in the sequel: for the Commodore, being informed of the matter, sent directions that they should be continued on board their own ship, with the use of their own apartments, and with all the other conveniences they had enjoyed before, giving strict orders that they should receive no kind of inquietude or molestation, whatever: and that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or have the means of complaining if they were not, the Commodore permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them as their guardian and protector. The pilot was particularly chosen for this purpose by Mr. Anson, as he seemed to be extremely interested in all that concerned the women, and had at first declared that he was married to the youngest of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the rest of the prisoners, and other circumstances, that he asserted this with a view the better to secure them from the insults they expected on their first falling into our hands. By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour of the Commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the whole time they were with us.

When our consorts had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four sail in company. We here found the sea for many miles round us of a beautiful red colour: this, upon examination, we imputed to an immense quantity of spawn spread upon its surface; for taking up some of the water in a wine-glass, it soon changed from a dirty aspect to a clear crystal, with only some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. At present, having a supply of timber on board our new prize, the Commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a swivel gun-stock to be fixed in the bow both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increase their force, in case we should be obliged to have recourse to them for boarding ships, or for any attempts on shore.

In our run along this coast we generally observed that there

was a current which set us to the northward, at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now being in about eight degrees of south latitude, we began to be attended with vast numbers of flying-fish and bonitos, which were the first we saw after our departure from the coast of Brazil.

On the 10th of November, we were three leagues south of the southernmost island of Lobos, lying in the latitude of $6^{\circ} 27'$ south. There are two islands of this name: this, called Lobos de la Mar, and another, which is situated to the northward of it, very much resembling it in shape and appearance, and often mistaken for it, called Lobos de Tierra. We were now drawing nearer to the station appointed to the Gloucester, for which reason, fearing to miss her, we made an easy sail all night. The next morning, at daybreak, we saw a ship in shore, and to windward, plying up the coast: she had passed by us with the favour of the night, and we, soon perceiving her not to be the Gloucester, got our tacks on board, and gave her chase; but there being very little wind, so that neither of us could make much way, the Commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the Tryal's pinnace, to be manned and armed, and to pursue the chase, and board her.

Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her first, about nine o'clock; and, running alongside of her, he fired a volley of small shot between the masts, just over the heads of the people on board, and then instantly entered, with the greatest number of his men; but the enemy made no resistance, being sufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlasses, and the volley they had just received. Lieutenant Brett ordered the sails to be trimmed, and bore down to the Commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was got within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the prisoners. On his arrival we learnt that the prize was called *Nuestra Senora del Carmin*, of about two hundred and seventy tons burthen; she was commanded by Marcus Morena, a native of Venice, and had on board forty-three mariners. Though her cargo, in our present circumstances, was but of little value to us, yet, with respect to the Spaniards, it was the most considerable capture we made in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars at Panama. This ship was bound to Callao, and had stopped at Paita in her passage, to take in a recruit of water and provisions, having left that place not above twenty-four hours before she fell into our hands.

Mr. Brett had received some important intelligence, which he endeavoured to let the Commodore know immediately. The first person he learnt it from was one John Williams, an Irishman, whom he found on board the Spanish vessel. Williams, who worked his passage from Cadiz, had travelled over all the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar. He pretended that, by his business, he had once got 4000 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarrassed by the priests, who knew he had money, and was at last stripped of everything he had. He was, indeed, at present all in rags, being but just got out of Paita gaol, where he had been confined for some misdemeanour. He expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately told them that, a few days before, a vessel came into Paita, where the master of her informed the governor that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which, from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the English squadron. This we then conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we afterwards found it was.

The governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to Lima, to acquaint the viceroy therewith; and the royal officer residing at Paita, apprehensive of a visit from the English, had, from his first hearing of this news, been busily employed in removing the king's treasure and his own to Piura, a town within land, about fourteen leagues distant. We further learnt from our prisoners that there was a very considerable sum of money, belonging to some merchants of Lima, that was now lodged in the custom-house at Paita; and that this was intended to be shipped on board a vessel which was then in the port of Paita, and was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition, being bound for the bay of Sonsonate, on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manila ship. As the vessel in which the money was to be shipped was a prime sailer, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom, and might, in the opinion of the prisoners, be able to sail the succeeding morning, the character they gave of her left us little reason to believe that our ship, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once suffered her to escape out of the port. Therefore, as we were now discovered, and the coast would be soon alarmed, and as our cruising in these parts any longer would answer no purpose, the Commodore resolved to en-

deavour to surprise the place, having first minutely informed himself of its strength and condition, and being fully satisfied that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt.

This attack on Païta, besides the treasure it promised us, and it being the only enterprise it was in our power to undertake, had these other advantages attending it, that we should, in all probability, supply ourselves with great quantities of live provision, of which we were at this time in want, and that we should likewise have an opportunity of setting our prisoners on shore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater consumption of our food than our stock that remained was capable of furnishing long. In all these lights, the attempt was a most eligible one, and what our necessities, our situation, and every prudential consideration prompted us to. "

CHAPTER XV.

CAPTURE OF PAÏTA.

THE town of Païta is situated in lat. $5^{\circ} 12'$ south, on a most barren soil, composed only of sand and slate: the extent of it is but small, containing in all less than two hundred families. The houses are only ground-floors; the walls built of split cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves. The port of Païta, though in reality little more than a bay, is esteemed the best on that part of the coast, and is, indeed, a very secure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all vessels coming from the north, since here only the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonate, Realeijo, and Panama can touch, and refresh in their passage to Callao.

The town of Païta itself is an open place, so that its sole protection and defence is in a fort. From the examination of our prisoners, we found that there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being surrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garrison consisted of only one weak company, though the town itself might possibly arm three hundred men more.

Mr. Anson, having informed himself of the strength of the place, resolved to attempt it that very night. We were then

about twelve leagues distant from the shore, far enough to prevent our being discovered; yet not so far but that, by making all the sail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ships long before daybreak. However, the Commodore prudently considered that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ships being such large bodies might be easily seen at a distance even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants, and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the strength of the place did not require our whole force, resolved to attempt it with the boats only, ordering the eighteen-oared barge, and our own and the Tryal's pinnaces, on that service; and having picked out fifty-eight men to man them, well furnished with arms and ammunition, he intrusted the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett, and gave him his necessary orders. And the better to prevent the confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and from the ignorance of the streets and passages of the place, two of the Spanish pilots were ordered to attend the lieutenant, who were to conduct him to the most convenient landing-place, and were afterwards to be his guides on shore: and that we might have the greater security for their behaviour on this occasion, the Commodore took care to assure our prisoners, that they should all of them be released, and set on shore at this place, provided the pilots acted faithfully; but in case of any misconduct or treachery, he threatened that the pilots should be instantly shot, and that he would carry the rest of the Spaniards, who were on board him, prisoners to England: so that the prisoners themselves were interested in our success, and therefore we had no reason to suspect our conductors either of negligence or perfidy.

On this occasion I cannot but remark a singular circumstance of one of the pilots employed by us in the business. It seems (as we afterwards learnt) he had been taken by Captain Clipperton, above twenty years before, and had been obliged to lead Clipperton and his people to the surprise of Truxilla, a town within land to the southward of Paita, where, however, he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to save them, though the place was carried and pillaged. Now, that the only two attempts on shore, which were made at so long an interval from each other, should be guided by the same person, and he, too, a prisoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an incident so very

extraordinary that I could not help mentioning it. But to return to the matter in hand.

During our preparations, the ships themselves stood towards the port with all the sail they could make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen. But, about ten o'clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered, though no sooner had he entered it, than some of the people on board a vessel riding at anchor there, perceived him, who instantly getting into the boat, rowed towards the fort, shouting and crying, "The English, the English dogs," etc., by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed, and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett, on this, encouraged his men to pull briskly up, that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence.

However, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though, in the darkness of the night, it might well be supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts; so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked, by the time the second gun fired.

As soon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to an entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards distant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the best manner the shortness of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large square at the end of the street, the fort being one side of the square, and the Governor's house another. In this march the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors, who had been confined so long on shipboard, and were now, for the first time, on shore in an enemy's country, joyous as they always are when they land, and animated besides, in the present case, with the hopes of an immense pillage; the huzzas, I say, of this spirited detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of

the enemy, to at least three hundred ; by which persuasion the inhabitants were so greatly intimidated, that they were much more solicitous about the means of flight than of resistance ; so that though, upon entering the parade, our people received a volley from the merchants, who owned the treasure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the Governor's house, yet that post was immediately abandoned upon the first fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet possession of the parade.

On this success, Lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the Governor's house, and, if possible, to secure the Governor, whilst he himself, at the head of the other, marched to the fort, with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without opposition : for the enemy on his approach abandoned it, and made their escape over the walls. By this means, the whole place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour's time from the first landing, and with no other loss than that of one man killed on the spot, and two wounded : one of which was the Spanish pilot of the *Teresa*, who received a slight bruise by a ball which grazed on his wrist.

Lieutenant Brett, when he had thus far happily succeeded, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the Governor's house, and appointed sentinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. This being done, his next care was to seize on the custom-house, where the treasure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what farther precautions it was necessary to take : but he soon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable ; for the greatest part of them being in bed when the place was surprised, had run away with so much precipitation, that they had not given themselves time to put on their clothes. In this general rout, the Governor was not the last to secure himself, for he fled betimes, half-naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age, to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him : though she, too, was afterwards carried off by a couple of sentinels, just as the detachment, ordered to invest the house, arrived before it.

This escape of the Governor was an unpleasant circumstance, as Mr. Anson had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant

Brett to secure his person, if possible, in hopes that by that means we might be able to treat for the ransom of the place : but it seems his alertness rendered the execution of these orders impracticable. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout negroes who were found in the town ; these, instead of being shut up, were employed, the remaining part of the night, to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house and other places to the fort : however, there was care taken that they should be always attended by a file of musketeers.

The transporting the treasure from the custom-house to the fort was the principal occupation of Mr. Brett's people, after he had got possession of the place. But the sailors, while they were thus busied, could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay near them in search of private pillage ; where the first things which occurred to them, being the clothes which the Spaniards in their flight had left behind them, and which, according to the custom of the country were most of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly seized these glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trousers and jackets, not forgetting at the same time the tye, or bag-wig, and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes ; and when this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it : but those who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's clothes sufficient to equip themselves, were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which, provided there was finery enough, they made no scruple of putting on, and blending with their own greasy dress. So that, when a party of them thus ridiculously metamorphosed, first appeared before Mr. Brett, he was extremely surprised at the grotesque sight, and could not immediately be satisfied they were his own people.

After the boats were gone off, the Centurion lay by till one o'clock in the morning, and then, supposing our detachment to be near landing, we made an easy sail for the bay. About seven in the morning we began to open the bay, and soon after had a view of the town ; and though we had no reason to doubt of the success of the enterprise, yet it was with great joy that we first discovered an infallible signal of the certainty of our hopes : this was by means of our telescopes, for through them we saw an English flag hoisted on the flag-staff of the

fort, which, to us, was an incontestable proof that our people were in possession of the place. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off shore, would permit us: and at eleven, the Tryal's boat came on board us, laden with dollars and church plate.

About two in the afternoon we anchored a mile and a half distance from the town, and were consequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourse with those on shore. And now we found that Mr. Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treasure without interruption, but that the enemy had rendezvoused from all parts of the country on a hill at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance; for, among the rest of their force, there were two hundred horse, seemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards. These troops paraded about the hill with great ostentation, sounding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate us, as our numbers on shore were by this time not unknown to them, in hopes that we might be induced by our fears to abandon the place before the pillage was completed. But we were not so ignorant as to believe that this body of horse, which seemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in streets and amongst houses, even had their numbers been three times as large; and therefore, notwithstanding their menaces, we went on calmly, as long as the daylight lasted, in sending off the treasure, and employing the boats to carry on board the refreshments, such as hogs, fowls, etc., which we found here in great abundance.

However, at night, to prevent any surprise, the Commodore sent on shore a reinforcement, who posted themselves in all the passages leading to the parade, and for their further security traversed the streets with barricadoes six feet high; but the enemy continuing quiet all night, we at daybreak returned again to our labour of loading the boats and sending them off.

On the second day of our being in possession of the place, several negro slaves deserted from the enemy on the hill, and coming into the town, voluntarily engaged in our service. We now learnt that the Spaniards without the town were in extreme want of water, for many of their slaves crept into the place by stealth and carried away several jars of water to their

masters on the hill ; and though some of them were seized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirst among the enemy was so pressing, that they continued this practice till we left the place. On this second day we were assured, both by the deserters and by those prisoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were by this time increased to a formidable number, had resolved to storm the town and fort the succeeding night ; and that one Gordon, a Scotchman, and captain of a ship of those seas, was to have the command of this enterprise. However, we notwithstanding continued sending off our boats, and prosecuted our work without the least hurry or precipitation till the evening, when a reinforcement was again sent ashore by the Commodore, and Lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricadoes ; and our posts being connected by the means of sentinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being visited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum, these marks of our vigilance—which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtless hear the drum, if not the calls of the sentinels—these marks, I say, of our vigilance, and of our readiness to receive them, cooled their resolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day, so that we passed this second night with as little molestation as we had done the first.

We had finished sending the treasure on board the Centurion the evening before, so that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects that remained in the town. And the Commodore intending to sail in the afternoon, he, about ten o'clock, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore, giving orders to Lieutenant Brett to secure them in one of the churches, under a strict guard, till the men were ready to be embarked. Mr. Brett was at the same time ordered to burn the whole town, except the two churches, and then he was to abandon the place and to return on board. These orders were punctually complied with, for Mr. Brett immediately set his men to work to distribute pitch, tar, and other combustibles, into houses situated in different streets of the town, so that the place being fired in many quarters at the same time, the destruction might be more violent and sudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguish it. When these preparations were made, he in the next place commanded the cannon which he found in the fort to be

nailed up, and then setting fire to those houses which were most to the windward, he collected his men and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off.

As that part of the beach whence he intended to embark was an open place without the town, the Spaniards on the hill perceiving he was retreating, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for their future boasting. To this end a small squadron of their horse, consisting of about sixty, picked out, as I suppose, for this service, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that had we not entertained an adequate opinion of their prowess, we might have imagined, that now we were on the open beach, with no advantage of situation, they would certainly have charged us; but we presumed, and we were not mistaken, that this was mere ostentation. For notwithstanding the pomp and parade they at first came on with, Mr. Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, than the enemy stopped their career, and never dared to advance a step farther.

When our people were arrived in their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for some time retarded by missing one of their number; and being unable, on their mutual inquiries amongst each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after a considerable delay, resolved to get into their boats, and to depart without him. But when the last man was actually embarked, and the boats were just putting off, they heard him calling to them to take him in; the place was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely discern him though they heard his voice. However, the lieutenant instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, who found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely frightened with the apprehension of falling into the hands of the enemy, enraged as they doubtless were at the pillage and destruction of their town. On inquiring into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed, at first opening his eyes, to see the houses all in a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatness and suddenness of his fright instantly brought him to a state

of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke as the likeliest means to escape the enemy; and making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durst (for he could not swim) before he ventured to look back.

Our detachment under Lieutenant Brett having safely joined the squadron, the Commodore prepared to leave the place the same evening. He found, when he first came into the bay, six vessels of the enemy at anchor; one whereof was the ship which, according to our intelligence, was to have sailed with the treasure to the coast of Mexico, and which, as we were persuaded she was a good sailer, we resolved to take with us: the others were two snows, a bark, and two row-galleys, of thirty-six oars apiece: these last, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the same kind, built at divers ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao; for the Spaniards, in the first intelligence of our squadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The Commodore, having no occasion for these other vessels, had ordered the masts of all five of them to be cut away at his first arrival; and, on his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, and scuttled and sunk; and the command of the remaining ship, called the *Solidad*, being given to Mr. Hughes, the Lieutenant of the *Tryal*, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the squadron, towards midnight, weighed anchor and sailed out of the bay, being at present augmented to six sail, that is, the *Centurion*, and the *Tryal*'s prize, together with the *Carmelo*, the *Teresa*, the *Carmin*, and our last-acquired vessel, the *Solidad*.

CHAPTER XVI.

PLANNING FOR A LARGER CAPTURE.

WHEN we got under sail from the coast of Paita, (which, as I have already observed, was about midnight, on the 16th of November), we stood to the westward, and in the morning the Commodore gave orders that the whole squadron should spread themselves to look out for the *Gloucester*. For we then drew near the station where Captain Mitchell had been directed to

cruise, and we hourly expected to get sight of him; but the whole day passed without seeing him.

And now a jealousy, which had taken its rise at Paita, between those who had been commanded on shore for the attack, and those who had continued on board, grew to such a height, that the Commodore being made acquainted with it, thought it necessary to interpose his authority to appease it. The ground of this animosity was the plunder gotten at Paita, which those who had acted on shore had appropriated to themselves, considering it as a reward for the risks they had run, and the resolution they had shown in that service. But those who had remained on board looked at this as a very partial and unjust procedure, urging, that had it been left to their choice, they should have preferred the acting on shore to the continuing on board; that their duty, while their comrades were on shore, was extremely fatiguing; for, besides the labour of the day, they were constantly under arms all night, to secure the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then necessary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture: that, upon the whole, it could not be denied but that the presence of a sufficient force on board was as necessary to the success of the enterprise as the action of the others on shore, and, therefore, those who had continued on board maintained, that they could not be deprived of their share of the plunder without manifest injustice. These were the contests amongst our men, which were carried on with great heat on both sides; and though the plunder in question was a very trifle, in comparison of the treasures taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but those on board had an equal right), yet, as the obstinacy of sailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in dispute, the Commodore thought it necessary to put a stop to this ferment betimes. Accordingly, the morning after our leaving Paita, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck, where, addressing himself to those who had been detached on shore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services on that occasion: but then, representing to them the reasons urged by those who had continued on board for an equal distribution of the plunder, he told them that he thought these reasons very conclusive, and that the expectations of their comrades were justly founded: and therefore he insisted that not only the men, but all the officers likewise,

who had been employed in taking the place, should produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck, and that it should be impartially divided amongst the whole crews in proportion to each man's rank and commission : and, to prevent those who had been in possession of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their share, the Commodore added, that as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like services, he would give his entire share to be distributed amongst those who had been detached, for the attack of the place. Thus this troublesome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with mischievous consequences, was, by the Commodore's prudence, soon appeased, to the general satisfaction of the ship's company ; not but there were some few whose selfish dispositions were uninfluenced by the justice of this procedure, and who were incapable of discerning the force of equity, however glaring, when it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

This important business employed the best part of the day, after we came from Paita. And now, at night, having no sight of the Gloucester, the Commodore ordered the squadron to bring to, that we might not pass her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, and at ten we saw a sail, to which we gave chase ; and at two in the afternoon we came near enough to discover her to be the Gloucester, with a small vessel in tow. About an hour after we were joined by them ; and then we learnt that Captain Mitchell, in the whole time of his cruise, had only taken two prizes : one of them being a small snow, whose cargo consisted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about 7,000*l.* in specie ; and the other a large boat, or launch, which the Gloucester's barge came up with near the shore. The prisoners on board this last vessel alleged that they were very poor, and that their lading consisted only of cotton ; though the circumstances in which the barge surprised them seemed to insinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended to be ; for the Gloucester's people found them at dinner upon pigeon-pie served up in silver dishes. However, the officer who commanded the barge having opened several of the jars on board, to satisfy his curiosity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the prisoners gave him ; but the cargo being taken into the Gloucester, and there examined more strictly, they were agreeably surprised to find

that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of false package, and that there was concealed amongst the cotton, in every jar, a considerable quantity of double doubloons and dollars to the amount, on the whole, of near 12,000*l*.

Being now joined by the Gloucester and her prize, it was resolved that the only feasible measure which was left us was to steer as soon as possible to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent coast of Mexico, there to cruise for the Manilla galleon, which we knew was now at sea, bound to the port of Acapulco. And we doubted not to get on that station time enough to intercept her; for this ship does not usually arrive at Acapulco till towards the middle of January, and we were now but in the middle of November, and did not conceive that our passage thither would cost us above a month or five weeks; so that we imagined we had near twice as much time as was necessary for our purpose. Indeed, there was a business, which we foresaw would occasion some delay, but we flattered ourselves that it would be despatched in four or five days, and, therefore, could not interrupt our project. This was the recruiting of our water; for the number of prisoners we had entertained on board since our leaving the island of Fernandez had so far exhausted our stock, that it was impossible to think of venturing upon this passage to the coast of Mexico till we had procured a fresh supply; especially as at Paita, where we had some hopes of getting a quantity, we did not find enough for our consumption during our stay there. It was for some time a matter of deliberation where we should take in this necessary article; but by consulting the accounts of former navigators, and examining our prisoners, we at last resolved for the island of Quibo, situated at the mouth of the bay of Panama.

We, consequently, directed our course northward, and being eight sail in company, we had the appearance of a very formidable fleet. On the 19th, at daybreak, we discovered Cape Blanco, bearing S.S.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., seven miles distant. This Cape lies in lat. 40° 15' south, and is always made by ships, bound either to windward or to leeward; so that off this Cape is a most excellent station to cruise upon the enemy. By this time we found that our last prize, the *Solidad*, was far from answering the character given her of a good sailer; and she and the *Santa Teresa* delaying us considerably, the Commodore commanded them both to be cleared of everything that might prove useful to the rest of the ships, and then to be burnt; and having given proper instructions, and a rendezvous

to the Gloucester and the other prizes, we proceeded in our course for Quibo; and on the 22nd, in the morning, saw the island of Plata, bearing east, distant four leagues. Here one of our prizes was ordered to stand close in with it, both to discover if there were any ships between that island and the continent, and likewise to look out for a stream of fresh water which was reported to be there, and which would have saved us the trouble of going to Quibo: but she returned without having seen any ship, or finding any water. The boats were now daily employed in distributing provisions on board our prizes, to complete their stock for six months; and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ship a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks in the main and fore tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of swivel-guns.

On the 25th we had a sight of the island of Gallo, four leagues distant; and from hence we crossed the bay of Panama, with a N.W. course, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the island of Quibo. But we afterwards found that we ought to have stood more to the westward; for the winds in a short time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult to gain the island. After passing the equator (on the 22nd), and leaving the neighbourhood of the Cordilleras, and standing more and more towards the Isthmus, where the communication of the atmosphere to the eastward and the westward was no longer interrupted, we found, in a very few days, an extraordinary alteration in the climate; for, instead of that uniform temperature, where neither the excess of heat nor cold was to be complained of, we had now, for several days together, close and sultry weather, resembling what we had before met with on the coast of Brazil, and in other parts between the tropics, on the eastern side of America. We had, besides, frequent calms and heavy rains, which we at first ascribed to the neighbourhood of the line, where this kind of weather is generally found to prevail at all seasons of the year; but observing that it attended us to the latitude of seven degrees north, we were at length induced to believe that the stormy season, or, as the Spaniards call it, the vandeals, was not yet over, though many writers positively assert that this season begins in June and is ended in November; and our prisoners all affirmed the same thing. But perhaps its end may not be always constant, and it might last this year longer than usual.

On the 27th, Captain Mitchell, having finished the clearing of his largest prize, she was scuttled and set on fire; but we still consisted of five ships, and were fortunate enough to find them all good sailers; so that we never occasioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had long been disused to, we found it necessary to caulk the decks and sides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain-water from running into her.

On the 3rd of December, we had a view of the island of Quibo, the east end of which then bore from us N.N.W. four leagues distant, and the island of Quicara W.N.W. about the same distance. When we had thus got sight of the land, we found the wind to hang westerly; and, therefore, night coming on, we thought it advisable to stand off till morning, as there are said to be some shoals in the entrance of the channel. At six the next morning, Point Mariato bore N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. three or four leagues distant. In weathering this point all the squadron, except the Centurion, were very near it; and the Gloucester, being the leewardmost ship, was forced to tack and stand to the southward, so that we lost sight of her. At nine, the island of Sebaco bore N.W. by N. four leagues distant; but the wind still proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the succeeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken aback. However, at eleven the next morning the wind happily settled in the S.S.W., and we bore away for the S.S.E. end of the island, and, about three in the afternoon, entered the Canal Bueno, passing round a shoal which stretches off about two miles from the south point of the island. At seven in the evening we anchored in thirty-three fathoms muddy ground.

CHAPTER XVII.

CRUISING IN THE HAUNTS OF THE TURTLE.

THE next morning, after our anchoring, an officer was despatched on shore to discover the watering-place, who, having found it, returned before noon; and then we sent the long-boat for a load of water, and, at the same time, we weighed and stood farther in with our ships. At two we came again to

an anchor, in twenty-two fathoms, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken shells.

This island of Quibo is extremely convenient for, wooding and watering, since the trees grow close to the high-water mark, and a large rapid stream of fresh water runs over the sandy beach into the sea: so that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. The whole island is of a very moderate height, excepting one part. It consists of a continued wood spread all over the whole surface of the country, which preserves its verdure the year round. Amongst the other wood, we found there abundance of cassia, and a few lime-trees. It appeared singular to us that, considering the climate and the shelter, we should see no other birds than parrots, parroquets, and mackaws; indeed, of these last there were prodigious flights. Next to these birds, the animals we found in most plenty were monkeys and guanos, and these we frequently killed for food; for, notwithstanding there were many herds of deer upon the place, the difficulty of penetrating the woods prevented our coming near them; so that, though we saw them often, we killed only two during our stay. Our prisoners assured us that this island abounded with tigers; and we did once discover the print of a tiger's paw upon the beach, but the tigers themselves we never saw. Besides these land-animals, the sea hereabouts is infested with great numbers of alligators of an extraordinary size; and we often observed a large kind of flat fish, jumping a considerable height out of the water, which we supposed to be the fish that is said frequently to destroy the pearl divers, by clasping them in its fins as they rise from the bottom; and we were told that the divers, for their security, are now always armed with a sharp knife, which, when they are entangled, they stick into the belly of the fish, and thereby disengage themselves from its embraces.

Whilst the ship continued here at anchor, the Commodore, attended by some of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eastern side of the island. And in the places where they put on shore in the course of this expedition, they generally found the soil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the N.E. point of the island, they discovered a natural cascade, which surpassed, as they conceived, everything of this kind which human art or industry hath hitherto produced. It was a river

of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which rolled down a declivity of near a hundred and fifty yards in length. The channel it fell in was very irregular; for it was entirely composed of rock, both its sides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by these the course of the water was frequently interrupted; for in some parts it ran sloping, with a rapid but uniform motion, while in others it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular descent. All the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood: and even the huge masses of rock which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty forest trees. Whilst the Commodore, with those accompanying him, were attentively viewing the place, and were remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in sight a prodigious flight of mackaws, which, hovering over this spot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing above it, afforded a most brilliant appearance, by the glittering of the sun on their variegated plumage; so that some of the spectators cannot refrain from a kind of transport, when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary waterfall.

In this expedition which the boat made along the eastern side of the island, though they discovered no inhabitants, yet they saw many huts upon the shore, and great heaps of shells of fine mother-of-pearl scattered up and down in different places: these were the remains left by the pearl-fishers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the summer season; for the pearl-oysters, which are to be met with everywhere in the bay of Panama, do so abound at Quibo, that, by advancing a very little way into the sea, you might stoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are usually very large; and out of curiosity we opened some of them, with a view of tasting them, but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable.

The oysters most productive of pearls are those found in considerable depths; for though what are taken up by wading near the shore are of the same species, yet the pearls they contain are few in number and very small. It is said, too, that the pearl partakes, in some degree, of the quality of the bottom on which the oyster is lodged; so that, if the bottom be muddy, the pearl is dark and ill-coloured.

Though the pearl-oyster was incapable of being eaten, yet their defect was more than repaid by the turtle, a dainty

which the sea at this place furnished us with in the greatest plenty and perfection.

There are generally reckoned four species of turtle ; that is, the trunk turtle, the loggerhead, the hawksbill, and the green turtle. The two first are rank and unwholesome : the hawksbill (which affords the tortoise-shell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two ; but the green turtle is generally esteemed by the greatest part of those who are acquainted with its taste, to be the most delicious of all eatables ; and that it is a most wholesome food, we are amply convinced by our own experience ; for we fed on this last species, or the green turtle, near four months, and, consequently, had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not possibly have escaped us. At this island we caught what quantity we pleased with great facility : for as they are an amphibious animal, and get on shore to lay their eggs, which they generally deposit in a large hole in the sand, just above the high-water mark, covering them up, and leaving them to be hatched by the heat of the sun, we usually dispersed several of our men along the beach, whose business it was to turn them on their backs when they came on land ; and the turtle being thereby prevented from getting away, we brought them off at our leisure. By this means, we not only secured a sufficient stock for the time we stayed on the island, but we carried a number of them with us to sea, which proved of great service, both in lengthening out our store of provision, and in heartening the whole crew with an almost constant supply of fresh and palatable food ; for the turtle being large, they generally weighing about 200lbs. weight each, those we took with us lasted near a month ; so that, before our store was spent, we met with a fresh recruit on the coast of Mexico, where, in the heat of the day, we often saw great numbers of them fast asleep, floating on the surface of the water. Upon discovering them, we usually sent out our boat with a man in the bow, who was a dexterous diver ; and as the boat came within a few yards of the turtle, the diver plunged into the water, taking care to rise close upon it, when seizing the shell near the tail, and pressing down the hinder parts, the turtle was thereby awakened, and began to strike with its claws, which motion supported both it and the diver till the boat came up and took them in.

Considering the scarcity of other provisions on some parts of the coast of the South Seas, it appears wonderful that a

species of food so very palatable and salubrious as turtle, and there so much abounding, should be proscribed by the Spaniards as unwholesome, and little less than poisonous. Perhaps the strange appearance of this animal may have been the foundation of this ridiculous and superstitious aversion, which is strongly rooted in the inhabitants of those countries, and of which we had many instances during the course of this navigation. We had taken in our prizes some Indian and negro slaves; these we did not dismiss with their masters, but continued them on board, as our crews were thin, to assist in navigating our ships. These poor people being possessed with the prejudices of the country they came from, were astonished at our feeding on turtle, and seemed fully persuaded that it would soon destroy us; but finding that none of us died, nor even suffered in our health, by a continuation of this diet, they at last got so far the better of their aversion as to be persuaded to taste it, to which the absence of all other kinds of fresh provisions might not a little contribute. However, it was with great reluctance, and very sparingly, that they first began to eat of it; but the relish improving upon them by degrees, they at last grew extremely fond of it, and preferred it to every other kind of food, and often felicitated each other on the happy experience they had acquired, and the luxurious and plentiful repasts it would always be in their power to procure, when they should again return back to their country. Those who are acquainted with the manner of life of those unhappy wretches need not be told that, next to large draughts of spirituous liquors, plenty of tolerable food is the greatest joy they know, and consequently the discovering the means of being always supplied with what quantity they pleased of a food more delicious to the palate than any their haughty lords and masters could indulge in, was doubtless a circumstance which they considered as the most fortunate that could befall them. After this digression, which the prodigious quantity of turtle on this island of Quibo, and the store of it we thence took to sea in some measure led me into, I shall now return to our own proceedings.

In three days' time we had completed our business at this place, and were extremely impatient to depart, that we might arrive time enough on the coast of Mexico to intercept the Manilla galleon. But the wind being contrary, detained us a night; and the next day, when we got into the offing, which we did through the same channel by which we entered,

we were obliged to keep hovering about the island, in hopes of getting sight of the Gloucester, which, as I have mentioned, was separated from us on our first arrival. It was the 9th of December, in the morning, when we put to sea; and continuing to the southward of the island, looking out for the Gloucester, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, discerned a small sail to the northward of us, to which we gave chase, and, coming up with her, took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, called the Jesu Nazareno, having nothing on board but some oakum, a ton of rock salt, and between 30% and 40% in specie.

On the 12th of December, we were at last relieved from the perplexity we had suffered, occasioned by the separation of the Gloucester; for on that day she joined us, and informed us that, in tacking to the southward on our first arrival, she had sprung her foretop-mast, which had disabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us sooner. And now we scuttled and sunk the Jesu Nazareno; and having the greatest impatience to get into a proper station for intercepting the Manilla galleon, we stood altogether to the westward, leaving the island of Quibo about nine days after our first coming in sight of it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

LYING IN WAIT FOR THE MANILLA GALLEON.

On the 12th of December, we stood from Quibo to the westward, and the same day the Commodore delivered fresh instructions to the captains of the men-of-war and the commanders of our prizes, appointing the places of meeting, and the courses they were to steer, in case of a separation. And first, they were directed to use all possible despatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land between the latitudes of eighteen and nineteen degrees; from thence they were to beat up the coast at eight or ten leagues' distance from the shore, till they came abreast of Cape Corientes, in lat. 20° 20'. After they arrived there, they were to continue cruising on that station till the 14th of February, when they were to

depart for the middle island of the Tres Marias, in lat. $21^{\circ} 25'$, bearing from Cape Corientes N.W. by N., twenty-five leagues distant. And if at this island they did not meet the Commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then immediately to proceed for the island of Macao, on the coast of China. These orders being distributed to all the ships, we had little doubt of arriving soon upon our intended station, as we expected, upon the increasing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind. But to our extreme vexation we were baffled for near a month, either by tempestuous weather from the western quarter or by dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a sultry air; so that it was the 25th of December before we saw the island of Cocos, which, according to our reckoning, was only a hundred leagues from the continent; and even then we had the mortification to make so little way that we did not lose sight of it again in five days.

This island we found to be in lat. $5^{\circ} 20' N.$ It has a high hummock towards the western part, which descends gradually, and at last terminates in a low point to the eastward. From the island of Cocos, we stood W. by N., and were till the ninth of January in running an hundred leagues more. We had at first flattered ourselves that the uncertain weather and western gales we met with were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent; from which, as we got more distant, we expected every day to be relieved, by falling in with the eastern trade-wind: but as our hopes were so long baffled, and our patience quite exhausted, we began at length to despair of succeeding in the great purpose we had in view, that of intercepting the Manilla galleon. This produced a general dejection amongst us, as we had at first considered the project as almost infallible, and had indulged ourselves in the most boundless hopes of the advantages we should thence receive. However, our despondency was at last somewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind: for, on the 9th of January, a gale sprang up the first time from the N.E., and on this we took the Carmelo in tow, as the Gloucester did the Carmin, making all the sail we could to improve the advantage, because we still suspected that it was only a temporary gale which would not last long; though the next day we had the satisfaction to find that the wind did not only continue in the same quarter, but blew with so much briskness and steadiness, that we no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. As we now advanced apace

towards our station, our hopes began to revive, and our former despair, by degrees, gave place to more sanguine prospects; insomuch, that though the customary season of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco was already elapsed, yet we were by this time unreasonable enough to flatter ourselves, that some accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her passage beyond its usual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to lat. $12^{\circ} 50'$; but on that day it shifted to the westward of the north. This change we imputed to our having hauled up too soon, though we then esteemed ourselves full seventy leagues from the coast. After this the wind was not so favourable to us as it had been; however, we still continued to advance, and on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and stood to the eastward with a view of making the land.

In the preceding fortnight, we caught some turtle on the surface of the water, and several dolphins, bonitos, and albigores. One day, as one of the sail-maker's mates was fishing from the end of the jib-boom, he lost his hold, and dropped into the sea; and the ship, which was then going at the rate of six or seven knots, went directly over him; but as we had the Carmelo in tow we instantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over several ends of ropes, one of which he fortunately caught hold of, and twisting it round his arm, he was thereby hauled into the ship without having received any other injury than a wrench in the arm, of which he soon recovered.

When, on the 26th of January, we stood to the eastward, we expected by our reckonings to have fallen in with the land on the 28th; yet though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no sight of it at sunset, and therefore we continued our course, not doubting but we should see it by the next morning. About ten at night we discovered a light on the larboard bow, bearing from us N.N.E. The Tryal's prize too, which was about a mile ahead of us, made a signal at the same time for seeing a sail. As we had none of us any doubt but what we saw was a ship's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm persuasion that it was the Manilla galleon, which had been so long the object of our wishes: and what added to our alacrity was our expectation of meeting with two of them instead of one; for we took it for granted that the light in

view was carried in the top of one ship for a direction to her consort. We immediately cast off the Carmelo, and pressed forward with all our canvas, making a signal for the Gloucester to do the same. Thus we chased the light, keeping all our hands at their respective quarters, under an expectation of engaging within half an hour, as we sometimes conceived the chase to be about a mile distant, and at other times to be within reach of our guns; for some on board us positively averred, that besides the light they could plainly discern her sails. The Commodore himself was so fully persuaded that we should be soon alongside of her, that he sent for his first-lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to see all the great guns loaded with two round shot for the first broadside, and after that with one round shot and one grape, strictly charging him at the same time, not to suffer a gun to be fired till he, the Commodore should give orders, which he informed the lieutenant would not be till we arrived within pistol-shot of the enemy. In this constant and eager attention we continued all night, always presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with the Manilla ship, whose wealth, and that of her supposed consort, we now estimated by round millions. But when the morning broke and daylight came on, we were most strangely and vexatiously disappointed, by finding that the light which had occasioned all this bustle and expectancy was only a fire on the shore. It must be owned the circumstances of this deception were so extraordinary as to be scarcely credible, for by our run during the night and the distance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we first discovered it, was about twenty-five leagues from us; and yet I believe there was no person on board who doubted of its being a ship's light, or of its being near at hand. It was indeed upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for several days afterwards; however, it was not a volcano, but rather, as I suppose, a tract of stubble, or heath, set on fire for some purpose of agriculture.

At sunrise, after this mortifying delusion, we found ourselves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the N.W. to E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. On this land, we observed two remarkable hummocks, such as are usually called paps, which bore north from us: these a Spanish pilot and two Indians, who were the only persons among us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the

harbour of Acapulco. Indeed we very much doubted their knowledge of the coast, for we found these paps to be in lat. $17^{\circ} 56'$, whereas those over Acapulco are said to be seventeen degrees only; and we afterwards found our suspicions of their skill to be well grounded: however, they were very confident, and assured us that the height of the mountains was itself an infallible mark of the harbour; the coast as they pretended, though falsely, being generally low to the eastward and westward of it.

Being now in the track of the Manilla galleon, it was a great doubt with us, as it was near the end of January, whether she was or was not arrived; but examining our prisoners about it, they assured us that she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to persuade us that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was yet at sea, it being customary, as they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction, when she continued longer out than ordinary. On this reasoning of our prisoners, strengthened by our propensity to believe them in a matter which so pleasingly flattered our wishes, we resolved to cruise for her some days; and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of twelve leagues from the coast in such a manner that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved. However, not seeing her soon, we were at intervals inclined to suspect that she had gained her port already: and as we now began to want a harbour to refresh our people, the uncertainty of our present situation gave us great uneasiness, and we were very solicitous to get some positive intelligence, which might either set us at liberty to consult our necessities, if the galleon was arrived, or might animate us to continue our present cruise with cheerfulness if she was not. With this view the Commodore, after examining our prisoners very particularly, resolved to send a boat, under colour of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to see if the Manilla ship was there or not; one of the Indians being very positive that this might be done without the boat itself being discovered. To execute this enterprise the barge was despatched the 6th of February, carrying a sufficient crew and two officers, as also a Spanish pilot, with the Indian who had insisted on the facility of this project, and had undertaken to conduct it. Our barge did not return to us again till the 11th, when the officers acquainted Mr. Anson that, agreeably to our suspicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the Spanish pilots had

at first asserted Acapulco to lie ; that, after they had satisfied themselves in this particular they steered to the eastward, in hopes of discovering it, and had coasted along-shore thirty-two leagues : that, in this whole range, they met chiefly with sandy beaches of a great length, over which the sea broke with so much violence, that it was impossible for a boat to land : that at the end of their run, they could just discover two paps at a very great distance to the eastward, which, from their appearance and their latitude, they concluded to be those in the neighbourhood of Acapulco ; but that, not having a sufficient quantity of fresh water and provision for their passage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the Commodore, to acquaint him with their disappointment. On this intelligence we all made sail to the eastward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port ; the Commodore being determined to send the barge a second time upon the same enterprise, when we were arrived within a moderate distance. Accordingly the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time considerably advanced, the barge was again despatched, and particular instructions given to the officers to preserve themselves from being seen from the shore. On the 13th, we espied a high land to the eastward, which was first imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco ; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguateneio, where there is a small harbour, of which we shall have occasion to make more ample mention hereafter. We waited six days from the departure of our barge without any news of her, so that we began to be uneasy for her safety ; but on the seventh day, the 19th of February, she returned. When the officers informed the Commodore that they had discovered the harbour of Acapulco, which they esteemed to bear from us E.S.E., at least fifty leagues distant : that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the island that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spanish pilot nor the Indian could give them any information where they then were ; but that, while they were lying upon their oars in suspense what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they sought for, they discerned a small light near the surface of the water, on which they instantly plied their paddles, and moving as silently as possible towards it, they found it to be a fishing canoe, which they surprised, with three negroes that belonged to it. It seems the negroes at first attempted to jump overboard, and being so near the shore

they would easily have swum to land; but they were prevented, by presenting a piece at them, on which they readily submitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift against the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be dashed to pieces by the fury of the sea: this they did to deceive those who, perhaps, might be sent from the town to search after the canoe; for, upon seeing several remains of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no suspicion of their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmost strength in pulling out to sea, and by dawn of the day had gained such an offing, as rendered it impossible for them to be seen from the coast.

Having now gotten the three negroes in our possession, who were not ignorant of the transactions at Acapulco, we were soon satisfied about the most material points which had long kept us in suspense. On examining them we found that we were indeed disappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galleon before her arrival at Acapulco; but we learnt other circumstances which still revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already lost; for, though our negro prisoners informed us that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coast; yet they at the same time told us, that the galleon had delivered her cargo, and was taking in water and provisions in order to return, and that the Viceroy of Mexico had, by proclamation, fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March (N.S.). This last news was most joyfully received by us, since we had no doubt but she must certainly fall into our hands; and it was much more eligible to seize her on her return than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would now have on board, would be prodigiously more to be esteemed by us than the cargo itself; great part of which would have perished on our hands, and none of it could have been disposed of by us at so advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ship, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to consider as the most desirable

capture that was to be made on any part of the ocean. But since all our future projects will be in some sort regulated with a view to the possession of this celebrated galleon, and since the commerce which is carried on by means of these vessels between the city of Manilla and the port of Acapulco is, perhaps, the most valuable in proportion to its quantity of any in the known world, I shall endeavour in the ensuing chapter to give as circumstantial an account as I can of all the particulars relating thereto.

CHAPTER XIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE FAMOUS MANILLA GALLEON.

ABOUT the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, the searching after new countries and new branches of commerce was the reigning passion among several of the European princes. But those who engaged most deeply and fortunately in these pursuits were the Kings of Spain and Portugal; the first of them having discovered the immense and opulent continent of America and its adjacent islands; whilst the other, by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, had opened to his fleets a passage to the southern coast of Asia, and by his settlements in that part of the globe, became possessed of many of the manufactures and natural productions with which it abounded; and which for some ages had been the wonder and delight of the more polished and refined part of mankind.

In the meantime, these two nations of Spain and Portugal, who were thus prosecuting the same views, though in different quarters of the world, grew extremely jealous of each other, and became apprehensive of mutual encroachments. And, therefore, to quiet their jealousies, and to enable them with more tranquillity to pursue the propagation of the Catholic faith in these distant countries, Pope Alexander VI. granted to the Spanish crown the property and dominion of all places either already discovered, or that should be discovered, an hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, leaving all the unknown countries to the eastward of this limit to the industry and disquisition of the Portuguese. And this

boundary, being afterwards removed two hundred and fifty leagues more to the westward, by the agreement of both nations, it was imagined that this regulation would have suppressed all the seeds of future contests; for the Spaniards presumed that the Portuguese would be thereby prevented from meddling with their colonies in America; and the Portuguese supposed that their East Indian settlements, and particularly the Spice Islands, which they had then newly found out, were for ever secured from any attempts of the Spanish nation.

But it seems the infallibility of the holy father had on this occasion deserted him; and, for want of being more conversant in geography, he had not foreseen that the Spaniards, by pursuing their discoveries to the west, and the Portuguese to the east, might at last meet with each other, and be again embroiled, as actually happened, within a few years afterwards. For Ferdinand Magellan, an officer in the King of Portugal's service, having received some disgust from the Court, entered into the service of the King of Spain. As he appears to have been a man of ability, he was desirous of signalizing his talents in some enterprise which might prove extremely vexatious to his former masters, and might teach them to estimate his worth from the greatness of the mischief he brought upon them. Magellan, in pursuance of these vindictive views, knowing that the Portuguese considered their traffic to the Spice Islands as their most important acquisition in the East, resolved with himself to instigate the Court of Spain to an attempt which, by still pushing their discoveries to the westward, would give them a right to interfere both in the property and commerce of those renowned countries; and the King of Spain approving of this project, Magellan, in the year 1519, set sail from the port of Seville, in order to carry this enterprise into execution. He had with him a considerable force, consisting of five ships, and two hundred and thirty-four men, with which he stood for the coast of South America; and ranging along shore, he at length, towards the end of October, 1520, had the good fortune to discover those Straits, which have since been denominated from him, and which opened him a passage into the South Seas. This, which was the first part of his scheme, being thus happily accomplished, he after some stay on the coast of Peru, set sail again to the westward, with a view of falling in with the Spice Islands. In this extensive run across the Pacific Ocean, he first discovered the

Ladrões; and continuing on his course, he at length reached the Philippine Islands, which are the most eastern part of Asia, where venturing on shore in an hostile manner, and skirmishing with the Indians, he was slain.

By the death of Mageilan, his original project of securing some of the Spice Islands was defeated; for those who were left in command contented themselves with ranging through them, and purchasing some spices from the natives; after which they returned home round the Cape of Good Hope, being the first ships which had ever surrounded this terraqueous globe; and thereby demonstrated by a palpable experiment, obvious to the grossest and most vulgar capacity, the reality of its long-disputed spherical figure.

But though Spain did not hereby acquire the property of any of the Spice Islands, yet the discovery of the Philippines, made in this expedition, was thought too considerable to be neglected; since these were not far distant from those places which produced spices, and were very well situated for the Chinese trade, and for the commerce of other parts of India. A communication, therefore, was soon established, and carefully supported, between these islands and the Spanish colonies on the coast of Peru; whence the city of Manilla, which was built on the island of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines, became in a short time the mart for all Indian commodities, which were brought up by the inhabitants, and were annually sent to the South Seas, to be there vendued on their account; and the returns of this commerce to Manilla being principally made in silver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent, and its trade so far increased, as to engage the attention of the Court of Spain, to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manilla, in which navigation the trade-wind continually favoured them; so that notwithstanding these places were distant between three and four thousand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months: but then the return from Manilla was extremely troublesome and tedious, and is said to have sometimes lasted above a twelvemonth, which, if they pretend to ply up within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at all to be wondered at. Indeed, though it is asserted, that in their first voyages they were so imprudent and unskilful as to attempt this course, yet that route was soon laid aside, by the advice, as it is said, of a

Jesuit, who persuaded them to steer to the northward, till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then, by the favour of the westerly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to stretch away for the coast of California. This we know has been the practice for at least a hundred and sixty years past. And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to shorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the staple of this commerce to and from Manilla was removed from Callao, on the coast of Peru, to the port of Acapulco on the coast of Mexico.

The island of Luconia, though situated in lat. 15° north, is esteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water that is found upon it is said to be the best in the world: it is very well seated for the Indian and Chinese trade; and the bay and port of Manilla which lies on its western side, is, perhaps, the most remarkable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular basin, near ten leagues in diameter, ~~great~~ part of it entirely land-locked. On the east side of this bay stands the city of Manilla, which is large and populous; and which, at the beginning of this war, was only an open place, its principal defence consisting in a small fort, which was almost surrounded on every side by houses; but they have lately made considerable additions to its fortifications, though I have not yet learnt after what manner. The port peculiar to the city is called Cabite, and lies near two leagues to the southward; and in this port all the ships employed for the Acapulco trade are usually stationed.

The city of Manilla itself is in a healthy situation, is well watered, and is in the neighbourhood of a very fruitful and plentiful country; but, as the principal business of this place is its trade to Acapulco, it lies under some disadvantage from the difficulty there is in getting to sea to the eastward; for the passage is among islands and through channels, where the Spaniards, by reason of their unskilfulness in marine affairs, waste much time, and are often in great danger.

The trade carried on from this place to China, and different parts of India, is principally for such commodities as are intended to supply the kingdom of Mexico and Peru. These are spices, and all sorts of Chinese silks and manufactures; particularly silk stockings, of which I have heard that no less than fifty thousand pair were the usual number shipped in each cargo; vast quantities of Indian stuffs, as calicoes

and chintzes, which are much worn in America, together with other minuter articles, as goldsmiths' work, etc., which is principally wrought at the city of Manilla itself by the Chinese. All these different commodities are collected at Manilla, thence to be transported annually, in one or more ships, to the port of Acapulco.

This trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manilla, but is confined by very particular regulations, somewhat analogous to those by which the trade of the register-ships from Cadiz to the West Indies is restrained. The ships employed herein are found by the King of Spain, who pays the officers and crew; and the tonnage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the same size: these are distributed amongst the convents at Manilla, but principally to the Jesuits, as a donation, to support their missions for the propagation of the Catholic faith; and the convents have thereby a right to embark such a quantity of goods on board the Manilla ship as the tonnage of their bales amounts to; or, if they choose not to be concerned in trade themselves, they have the power of selling this privilege to others; nor is it uncommon, when the merchant to whom they sell their share is unprovided of a stock, for the convents to lend him considerable sums of money on bottomry.

The trade is by the royal edicts limited to a certain value which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spanish manuscripts mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargo does certainly surpass this sum: and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet, from many comparisons, I conclude that the return cannot be much short of three millions of dollars.

This trade, from Manilla to Acapulco, and back again, is usually carried on in one, or at most two, annual ships, which set sail from Manilla about July, and arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February following; and having there disposed of their effects, return for Manilla some time in March, where they generally arrive in June; so that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year. For this reason, though there is often no more than one ship freighted at a time, yet there is always one ready for the sea when the other arrives; and, therefore, the commerce at Manilla is provided with three or four stout ships, that in case of any accident the trade may not be

suspended. The largest of these ships, whose name I have not learned, is described as little less than one of our first-rate men-of-war; and, indeed, she must be of an enormous size, as it is known that when she was employed with other ships from the same port to cruise for our China trade, she had no less than twelve hundred men on board. Their other ships, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet stout, large vessels, of the burthen of twelve hundred tons and upwards, and usually carry from three hundred and fifty to six hundred hands, passengers included, with fifty-odd guns. As these are all king's ships, commissioned and paid by him, there is usually one amongst the captains styled the general, and he carries the royal standard of Spain at the main-top-gallant-masthead.

It is indeed remarkable, that, by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road, as yet found out between the Philippine islands and the coast of California; so that from the time the Manilla ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southernmost extremity. As this voyage is rarely of less than six months' continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandise and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time. The method of procuring it is indeed extremely singular, and deserves particular recital.

It is well known to those who are acquainted with the Spanish customs in the South Seas, that their water is preserved on ship-board in earthen jars, which, in some sort, resemble the large oil-jars we often see in Europe. When the Manilla ship first puts to sea, she takes on board a much greater quantity of water than can be stowed between decks, and the jars which contain it are hung all about the shrouds and stays, so as to exhibit, at a distance, a very odd appearance. Though it is one convenience of their jars, that they are much more manageable than casks, and are liable to no leakage, unless they are broken; yet it is sufficiently obvious, that a six, or even a three months' store of water, could never be stowed in a ship so loaded, by any management whatever; and therefore without some other supply, this navigation could not be performed. In short, their only method of recruiting their water is by the

rains which they meet with between the latitudes of thirty and forty degrees north, and which they are always prepared to catch. For this purpose they take to sea with them a great number of mats, which, whenever the rain descends, they range slopingly against the gunwale, from one end of the ship to the other, their lower edges resting on a large split bamboo; whence all the water which falls on the mats drains into the bamboo, and by this, as a trough, is conveyed into a jar. And this method of furnishing themselves with water, however accidental and extraordinary it may at first sight appear, has never been known to fail them.

The length of time employed in this passage, so much beyond what usually occurs in any other known navigation, is perhaps in part to be imputed to the indolence and unskilfulness of the Spanish sailors, and to an unnecessary degree of caution, on pretence of the great riches of the vessel; for it is said that they rarely set their main-sail in the night, and often lie by unnecessarily. This much is certain, that the instructions given to their captains, which I have seen, seem to have been drawn up by such as were more apprehensive of too strong a gale, though favourable, than of the inconveniences and mortality attending a lingering and tedious voyage; for the captain is particularly ordered to make his passage in the latitude of thirty degrees, if possible, and to be extremely careful to stand no farther to the northward than is absolutely necessary for the getting a westerly wind. This, according to our conceptions, appears to be a very absurd restriction, since it can scarcely be doubted but that in the higher latitudes the westerly winds are much steadier and brisker than in the latitude of thirty degrees. Indeed, the whole conduct of this navigation seems liable to very great censure; since, if instead of steering E.N.E. into the latitude of thirty degrees, they at first stood N.E. or even still more northerly, into the latitude of forty or forty-five degrees, in part of which course the trade-winds would greatly assist them, I doubt not but by this management they might considerably contract their voyage, and perhaps perform it in half the time which is now allotted for it.

The Manilla ship having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of California; and when she has run into the longitude of about one hundred degrees from Cape Spiritu

Santo, she generally finds a plant floating on the sea, which, being called Porra by the Spaniards, is, I presume, a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves sufficiently near the Californian shore, and immediately stand to the southward; and they rely so much on this circumstance, that on the first discovery of the plant the whole ship's company chant a solemn *Te Deum*, esteeming the difficulties and hazards of their passage to be now at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within sight of land. After falling in with these "Signs," as they denominate them, they steer to the southward without endeavouring to approach the coast, till they have run into a lower latitude; for, as there are many islands and some shoals adjacent to California, the extreme caution of the Spanish navigators renders them very apprehensive of being engaged with the land; however, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to haul in, both for the sake of making Cape St. Lucas to ascertain their reckoning, and also to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants whether or no there are any enemies on the coast. If the captain finds, from the account which is sent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape St. Lucas, and thence to Cape Corientes, after which he has to coast it along for the port of Acapulco.

The most usual time of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco is towards the middle of January; but this navigation is so uncertain that she sometimes gets in a month sooner, and at other times has been detained at sea above a month longer. The port of Acapulco is by much the securest and finest in all the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, being, as it were, a basin surrounded by very high mountains; but the town is a most wretched place, and extremely unhealthy, for the air about it is so pent up by the hills that it has scarcely any circulation.

When the galleon arrives in this port she is generally moored on its western side, and her cargo is delivered with all possible expedition. And now the town of Acapulco, from almost a solitude, is immediately thronged with merchants from all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargo being landed and disposed of, the silver and the goods intended for Manilla are taken on board, together with provisions and water, and the ship prepares to put to sea with the utmost expedition. There is, indeed, no time to be lost; for it is an

express order to the captain to be out of the port of Acapulco on his return before the first day of April (N.S.).

Having mentioned the goods intended for Manilla, I must observe that the principal return is always made in silver, and, consequently, the rest of the cargo is but of little account.

And this difference in the cargo of the ship to and from Manilla occasions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping her for these two different voyages; for the galleon, when she sets sail for Manilla, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, she has not got the conveniency of mounting her lower tier of guns, but carries them in her hold till she draws near Cape St. Lucas, and is apprehensive of an enemy. Her hands, too, are as few as is consistent with the safety of the ship. But, on her return from Acapulco, as her cargo lies in less room, her lower tier is mounted before she leaves the port, and her crew is augmented with a supply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garrison at Manilla.

The galleon being thus fitted in order to her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the latitude of 13° or 14° , and then continues on that parallel till he gets sight of the island of Guam, one of the Ladrões, whence he pursues his course without interruption, making the best of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manilla, and the constant station for all ships employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

CHAPTER XX.

DISAPPOINTED OF THE PRIZE.

I HAVE already mentioned, in the eighteenth chapter, that the return of our barge from the port of Acapulco, where she had surprised three negro fishermen, gave us inexpressible satisfaction; as we learnt from our prisoners that the galleon was then preparing to put to sea, and that her departure was fixed for the 3rd of March.

What related to this Manilla ship being the matter to which we were most attentive, it was necessarily the first article of our examination; but having satisfied ourselves upon this

head, we then indulged our curiosity in inquiring after other news; when the prisoners informed us that they had received intelligence, at Acapulco, of our having plundered and burnt the town of Paita; and that on this occasion the Governor of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken several precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour; that, in particular, he had planted a guard on the island which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge.

The withdrawing of this guard was a circumstance that gave us much pleasure, since it seemed to demonstrate not only that the enemy had not as yet discovered us, but, likewise, that they had now no farther apprehensions of our visiting their coast. Indeed the prisoners assured us that they had no knowledge of our being in those seas, and that they had therefore flattered themselves that, in the long interval from our taking of Paita, we had steered another course. But we did not consider the opinion of these negro prisoners as so authentic a proof of our being hitherto concealed as the withdrawing of the guard from the harbour's mouth.

Satisfied, therefore, that we were undiscovered, and that the day was fixed for the departure of the galleon from Acapulco, we made all necessary preparations, and waited with the utmost impatience for the important moment. As it was the 19th of February when the barge returned and brought us our intelligence, and the galleon was not to sail till the 3rd of March, the Commodore resolved to continue the greatest part of the intermediate time on his present station, to the westward of Acapulco, conceiving that, in this station, there would be less danger of his being seen from the shore, which was the only circumstance that could deprive us of the immense treasure on which we had at present so eagerly fixed our thoughts.

The distribution of our squadron, on this occasion, both for the intercepting the galleon and for avoiding a discovery from the shore, was so very judicious, that it well merits to be distinctly described. The order of it was thus: the Centurion brought the Paps over the harbour to bear N.N.E., at fifteen leagues' distance, which was a sufficient offing to prevent our being seen by the enemy. To the westward of the Centurion there was stationed the Carmelo, and to the eastward the Tryal's prize, the Gloucester, and the Carmin. These were all ranged in a circular line, and each ship was three leagues dis-

tant from the next; so that the Carmelo and the Carmin, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues removed from each other; and as the galleon could, without doubt, be discerned at six leagues' distance from either extremity, the whole sweep of our squadron, within which nothing could pass undiscovered, was at least twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were so connected by our signals as to be easily and speedily informed of what was seen in any part of the line. To render this disposition still more complete, and to prevent even the possibility of the galleon's escaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and the Gloucester were both manned and sent in-shore, and commanded to lie all day at the distance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where, by reason of their smallness, they could not possibly be discovered; but in the night they were directed to stand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and, as the light of the morning approached, to come back again to their day-posts. When the cutters should first discern the Manilla ship, one of them was to return to the squadron, and to make a signal whether the galleon stood to the eastward or to the westward; whilst the other was to follow the galleon at a distance, and if it grew dark, to direct the squadron in their chase by showing false fires.

As we supposed that none of our ships but the Centurion and Gloucester were capable of lying alongside of the galleon, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and Carmin, except what were just sufficient to navigate those ships; and Captain Saunders was ordered to send from the Tryal's prize, ten Englishmen, and as many negroes, to reinforce the crew of the Gloucester. At the same time, for the encouragement of our negroes, of whom we had a considerable number on board, we promised them, that, on their good behaviour, they should have their freedom.

Being thus prepared for the reception of the galleon, we expected, with the utmost impatience, the day fixed for her departure. No sooner did that day dawn than we were all of us most eagerly engaged in looking out towards Acapulco. But, to our extreme vexation, both this day and the succeeding night passed over without any news of the galleon: however, we did not yet despair, but we were all heartily disposed to flatter ourselves that some unforeseen accident had intervened, which might have put off her departure for a few days; and suggestions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the Viceroy for her sailing was often

prolonged on the petition of the merchants of Mexico. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance; and as the 7th of March was Sunday, the beginning of Passion-week, which is observed by Catholics with great strictness, and a total cessation from all kinds of labour, so that no ship is permitted to stir out of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehensions for some time, and disposed us not to expect the galleon till the week following. On the Friday in this week our cutters returned to us, and the officers on board them were very confident that the galleon was still in port; for that she could not possibly have come out, but they must have seen her. The Monday morning following, the cutters were again despatched to their old station, and our hopes were once more indulged in as sanguine prepossessions as before; but in a week's time our eagerness was greatly abated, and a general dejection and despondency took place in its room. It is true, there were some few amongst us who still kept up their spirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reasons to satisfy themselves that the disappointment we had hitherto met with had only been occasioned by a casual delay of the galleon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total suspension of her departure for the whole season: but these speculations were not adopted by the generality of our people; for they were persuaded that the enemy had, by some accident, discovered our being upon the coast, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galleon till the next year. And, indeed, this persuasion was too well founded; for we afterwards learnt that our barge, when sent on the discovery of the port of Acapulco, had been seen from the shore; and that this circumstance was to them a sufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our squadron; on which they stopped the galleon till the succeeding year.

The Commodore himself, though he declared not his opinion, was yet, in his own thoughts, apprehensive that we were discovered, and that the departure of the galleon was put off; and he had, in consequence of this opinion, formed a plan of possessing himself of Acapulco; because he had no doubt but the treasure as yet remained in the town, even though the orders for despatching of the galleon were countermanded. Indeed, the place was too well defended to be carried by an open attempt; since, besides the garrison and the crew of the galleon, there were in it at least a thousand men well armed, who had marched thither as guards to the treasure, when it

was brought down from the city of Mexico; for the roads thereabouts are so much infested, either by independent Indians or fugitives, that the Spaniards never trust the silver without an armed force to protect it.

The manner in which Mr. Anson proposed to conduct this enterprise was, by setting sail with the squadron in the evening, time enough to arrive at the port in the night. As there is no danger on that coast, he would have stood boldly for the harbour's mouth, where he expected to arrive, and, perhaps, might have entered, before the Spaniards were acquainted with his designs: as soon as he had run into the harbour, he intended to have pushed two hundred of his men on shore in his boats, who were immediately to attempt the fort, whilst he, the Commodore, with his ships, was employed in firing upon the town and the other batteries. And these different operations, which would have been executed with great regularity, could hardly have failed of succeeding against an enemy, who would have been prevented by the suddenness of the attack, and by the want of daylight, from concerting any measures for their defence: so that it was extremely probable that we should have carried the fort by storm; and then the other batteries, being open behind, must have been soon abandoned; after which, the town, and its inhabitants, and all the treasure, must necessarily have fallen into our hands; for the place is so cooped up with mountains, that it is scarcely possible to escape out of it, but by the great road which passes under the fort. This was the project which the Commodore had thus far settled generally in his thoughts; but when he began to inquire into such circumstances as were necessary to be considered, in order to regulate the particulars of its execution, he found there was a difficulty, which, being insuperable, occasioned the enterprise to be laid aside; as, on examining the prisoners about the winds which prevailed near the shore, he learnt that nearer in-shore there was always a dead calm for the greatest part of the night, and that towards morning, when a gale sprung up, it constantly blew off the land; so that, setting sail from our present station in the evening, and arriving at Acapulco before daylight, was impossible.

As the cutters had been ordered to remain before Acapulco till the 23rd of March, the squadron did not change its position till that day; when the cutters not appearing, we were in some pain for them, apprehending they might have suffered either from the enemy or the weather; but we were relieved from

our concern the next morning, when we discovered them, though at a great distance, and to the leeward of the squadron. We bore down to them, and took them up, and were informed by them that, conformable to their orders, they had left their station the day before, without having seen anything of the galleon; and we found that the reason of their being so far to the leeward of us was a strong current, which had driven the whole squadron to windward.

When we had taken up the cutters, all the ships being joined, the Commodore made a signal to speak with their commanders; and, upon inquiry into the stock of fresh water remaining on board the squadron, it was found to be so very slender, that we were under a necessity of quitting our station to procure a fresh supply. Consulting what place was the properest for this purpose, it was agreed that the harbour of Seguataneio, or Chequetan, being the nearest, was on that account the most eligible, so that it was immediately resolved to make the best of our way thither. By the 1st of April, we were so far advanced towards Seguataneio, that we thought it expedient to send our two boats, that they might range along the coast to discover the watering-place. They were gone some days, and our water being now very short, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily supplies of turtle; for had we been entirely confined to salt provisions, we must have suffered extremely in so warm a climate. Indeed our present circumstances were sufficiently alarming, and gave the most considerate among us as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered; for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet found a place proper to water at, and by the leakage of our casks, and other accidents, we had not ten days' water on board the whole squadron; so that we were apprehensive of being soon exposed to a calamity the most terrible of any that occurs in the long disheartening catalogue of the distresses of a sea-faring life.

But these gloomy suggestions were at length happily ended; for our boats returned on the 5th of April, having, about seven miles to the westward of the rocks, of Seguataneio, met with a place fit for our purpose. The success of our boats was highly agreeable to us, and they were ordered out again the next day to sound the harbour and its entrance, which they had represented as very narrow. At their return they reported the place to be free from any danger; so that on the 7th we stood

for it, and that evening came to anchor in eleven fathoms. The Gloucester cast anchor at the same time with us; but the Carmelo and the Carmin, having fallen to the leeward, the Tryal's prize was ordered to join them, and to bring them up, which in two or three days she effected.

CHAPTER XXI.

FORAGING IN THE HARBOUR OF CHEQUETAN.

THE harbour of Seguataneio, or Chequetan, lies in lat. $17^{\circ}36'$ north, and is about thirty leagues to the westward of Acapulco.

There is a beach of sand, which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the westward, against which the sea breaks so violently, that with boats it would be impossible to land on any part of it; but yet the ground is so clean that, during the fair season, ships may anchor in great safety at the distance of a mile or two from the shore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees; and on the tops of some small eminences, there are several look-out towers, so that the face of the country affords a very agreeable prospect; for the cultivated part, which is the part here described, extends some leagues back from the shore, where it seems to be bounded by a chain of mountains, which stretch to a considerable distance on either side of Acapulco. It is a most remarkable peculiarity, in this whole extent, containing in appearance the most populous and best-planted district of the whole coast, that there should be neither canoes, boats, nor any other embarkations, either for fishing, coasting, or for pleasure.

Five miles to the westward of the extremity of this beach, there appears a hummock, which at first makes like an island, and is in shape not very unlike the hill of Petaplan hereafter mentioned, though much smaller. Three miles to the westward of this hummock is a white rock near the shore: it is about two cables' length from the land, and lies in a large bay about nine leagues over. This hill of Petaplan, like the forementioned hummock, may at first be mistaken for an island, though it be in reality a peninsula, which is joined to

the continent by a low and narrow isthmus, covered over with shrubs and small trees. The bay of Seguataneio extends from this hill a great way to the westward; and it appears that at a small distance from the hill and opposite to the entrance of the bay, there is an assemblage of rocks, which are white, from the excrement of boobies and tropical birds. Four of these rocks are high and large, and together with several smaller ones, are, by the help of a little imagination, pretended to resemble the form of a cross, and are called the White Friars. These rocks bear W. by N. from Petaplan; and about seven miles to the westward of them lies the harbour of Chequetan, which is still more minutely distinguished by a large and single rock that arises out of the water a mile and a half distant from the entrance, and bears S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. from the middle of it.

The harbour is environed on all sides, except to the westward, with high mountains, overspread with trees. The passage into it is very safe on either side of the rock that lies off the mouth of it, though we, both in coming in and going out, left it to the eastward. The ground without the harbour is gravel, mixed with stones, but within it is a soft mud.

The watering-place, during the whole time of our stay, had the appearance of a large standing lake, without any visible outlet into the sea, from which it is separated by a part of the strand. The origin of this lake is a spring that bubbles out of the ground near half a mile within the country. We found the water a little brackish, but more considerably so towards the sea-side: for the nearer we advanced towards the spring-head, the softer and fresher it proved. This laid us under a necessity of filling all our casks from the furthest part of the lake.

As the country hereabouts, particularly the tract of coast contiguous to Acapulco, appeared to be well peopled and cultivated, we hoped to have easily procured from thence some fresh provisions and other refreshments which we now stood greatly in need of. To facilitate these views, the Commodore, the morning after we came to an anchor, ordered a party of forty men, well armed, to march into the country, and to endeavour to discover some town or village where they were to attempt to set on foot a correspondence with the inhabitants; for when we had once begun this intercourse, we doubted not but that, by proper presents, we should allure them to bring down to us whatever fruits or fresh provisions

were in their power ; as our prizes abounded in various kinds of coarse merchandise, which were of little consequence to us, though to them they would be extremely valuable. Our people were directed on this occasion, to proceed with the greatest circumspection, and to make as little ostentation of hostility as possible ; for we were sensible we could find no wealth in these parts worth our notice ; and what necessaries we really wanted we expected would be better and more abundantly supplied by an open, amicable traffic, than by violence and force of arms. But this endeavour of opening a commerce with the inhabitants proved ineffectual ; for towards evening the party which had been ordered to march into the country returned greatly fatigued by their unusual exercise, and some of them so far spent that they had fainted on the road, and were obliged to be brought back upon the shoulders of their companions. They had penetrated, as they conceived, about ten miles into the country, along a beaten track, where they often saw the fresh dung of horses or mules. When they had got near five miles from the harbour, the road divided between the mountains into two branches, one running to the east and the other to the west. On deliberation concerning the course they should take, it was agreed to continue their march along the eastern road : this, when they had followed it for some time, led them at once into a large plain, or savannah, on one side of which they discovered a sentinel on horseback, with a pistol in his hand. It was supposed that when they first saw him he was asleep ; but his horse starting at the glittering of their arms, and turning round suddenly, ran off with his master, who, though he was very near being unhorsed in the surprise, yet recovered his seat, and escaped with the loss only of his hat and his pistol, which he dropped on the ground. Our people pursued him in hopes of discovering the village or habitation which he would retreat to ; but, as he had the advantage of being on horseback, they soon lost sight of him. Notwithstanding his escape, they were unwilling to come back without making some discovery, and therefore still following the track they were in, till the heat of the day increasing, and finding no water to quench their thirst, they were first obliged to halt, and then resolved to return ; for as they saw no signs of plantations or cultivated land, they had no reason to believe that there was any village or settlement near them. However, to leave no means untried of procuring some intercourse with the people, the officers stuck up several

poles in the road, to which were affixed declarations written in Spanish, encouraging the inhabitants to come down to the harbour to traffic with us, giving them the strongest assurances of a kind reception and faithful payment for any provision they should bring us. This was doubtless a very prudent measure, yet it produced no effect, for we never saw any of them during the whole time of our continuance at this port of Chequetan.

Some time after our arrival at Chequetan, Lieutenant Brett was sent by the Commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coast to the eastward, particularly to make observations on the bay and watering-place of Petaplan. As Mr. Brett, with one of the boats, was preparing to go on shore, towards the hill of Petaplan, he accidentally looking across the bay, perceived on the opposite strand three small squadrons of horse parading upon the beach, and seemed to advance towards the place where he proposed to land. On sight of this he immediately put off the boat, though he had but sixteen men with him, and stood over the bay towards them: and he soon came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very sightly horses, and were armed with carbines and lances. On seeing him make towards them, they formed upon the beach, and seemed resolved to dispute his landing, firing several distant shot at him as he drew near, till at last the boat being arrived within a reasonable distance of the most advanced squadron, Mr. Brett ordered his people to fire, upon which this resolute cavalry instantly ran with great confusion into the wood through a small opening. In this precipitate flight one of their horses fell down and threw his rider; but whether he was wounded or not we could not discern, for both man and horse soon got up again, and followed the rest into the wood. In the mean time the other two squadrons were calm spectators of the rout of their comrades, for they were drawn up, a great distance behind, out of the reach of our shot, having halted on our approach, and never advanced a step afterwards. It was doubtless fortunate for our people that the enemy acted with so little prudence, and exerted so little spirit, since, had they concealed themselves till our men had landed, it is scarcely possible but all the boat's crew must have fallen into their hands, as the Spaniards were not much short of two hundred, and the whole number with Mr. Brett only amounted to sixteen. However, the discovery of so considerable a force collected in this bay

of Petaplan obliged us constantly to keep a boat or two before it; for we were apprehensive that the cutter, which we had left to cruise off Acapulco, might on her return be surprised by the enemy, if she did not receive timely information of her danger.

After our unsuccessful attempt to engage the people of the country to furnish us with the necessaries we wanted, we were obliged to be contented with what we could procure for ourselves in the neighbourhood of the port. We caught fish here in tolerable quantities, especially when the smoothness of the water permitted us to haul the seine. Amongst the rest, we got cavillies, breams, mullets, soles, fiddle-fish, sea-eggs, and lobsters: and we here, and in no other place, met with that extraordinary fish, called the torpedo, or numbing fish, which is in shape very like the fiddle-fish, and is not to be known from it but by a brown circular spot, about the bigness of a crown-piece, near the centre of its back; perhaps its figure will be better understood, when I say it is a flat fish, much resembling the thornback. This fish, the torpedo, is indeed of a most singular nature, productive of the strangest effects on the human body; for whoever handles it, or happens even to set his foot upon it, is presently seized with a numbness all over him; but which is more distinguishable in that limb which was in immediate contact with it. The same effect, too, will be in some degree produced by touching the fish with anything held in the hand, since I myself had a considerable degree of numbness conveyed to my right arm, through a walking cane, which I rested on the body of the fish for a short time only; and I make no doubt but I should have been much more sensibly affected had not the fish been near expiring when I made the experiment; as it is observable that this influence acts with most vigour upon the fish being first taken out of the water, and entirely ceases as soon as it is dead, so that it may be then handled, or even eaten, without any inconvenience.

The animals we met with on shore were principally guanos,¹ with which the country abounds, and which are by some reckoned delicious food. We saw no beasts of prey here, except we should esteem that amphibious animal the alligator as such, several of which our people discovered, but none of them very large. However, we were satisfied that there were great numbers of tigers in the woods, though none of them came in sight; for we every morning found the beach near the

watering-place imprinted very thick with their footsteps ; but we never apprehended any mischief from them, since they are by no means so fierce as the Asiatic or African tiger, and are rarely if ever known to attack mankind. Birds were here in sufficient plenty, for we had abundance of pheasants of different kinds, some of them of an uncommon size, but they were all very dry and tasteless eating. And besides these we had a variety of smaller birds, particularly parrots, which we often killed for food.

The fruits and vegetable refreshments at this place were neither plentiful nor of the best kinds ; there were, it is true, a few bushes scattered about the woods, which supplied us with limes, but we scarcely could procure enough for our present use ; and these, with a small plum, of an agreeable acid, called in Jamaica the hog-plum, together with another fruit, called a paper, were the only fruits to be found in the woods. Nor is there any other useful vegetable here worth mentioning, except brooklime : this indeed grew in great quantities near the fresh-water banks ; and as it was esteemed an anti-scorbutic, we fed upon it frequently, though its extreme bitterness made it very unpalatable.

CHAPTER XXII.

FAREWELL TO THE MEXICAN COAST.

THE next morning, after coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we sent about ninety of our men, well armed, on shore, forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as hath been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering-place, and to prevent any interruption from the natives.

Here we completed the unloading of the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, which we had begun at sea ; that is to say, we took out of them the indigo, cocoa, and cochineal, with some iron for ballast, which were all the goods we intended to preserve, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes. Here, too, it was agreed, after a mature consultation, to destroy the *Tryal's* prize, as well as the *Carmelo* and *Carmin*, whose fate had been before resolved on. Indeed, the *Tryal's*

prize was in good repair, and fit for the sea ; but, as the whole numbers on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate man-of-war, we found it was impossible to divide them into three ships, without rendering each of those ships incapable of navigating in safety through the tempestuous weather we had reason to expect on the coast of China, where we supposed we should arrive about the time of the change of the monsoons. These considerations determined the Commodore to destroy the Tryal's prize and to reinforce the Gloucester with the best part of her crew. And in consequence of this resolve, all the stores on board the Tryal's prize were removed into the other ships, and she herself, with the Carmelo and Carmin, were prepared for scuttling with all the expedition we were masters of ; but the great difficulties we were under in providing a store of water, together with the necessary repairs of our rigging, took us up so much time, and found us such unexpected employment, that it was near the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

During our stay here, there happened an incident which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our safety, which for some time they had despaired of, and were then in doubt about, I shall beg leave particularly to recite. I have observed, in the preceding chapter, that, from this harbour of Chequetan, there was but one pathway which led through the woods into the country : this we found much beaten, and were thence convinced that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it passed by the springhead, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at some distance beyond the springhead, felled several large trees, and laid them one upon the other across the path : and at this barricado we constantly kept a guard. We, besides, ordered our men employed in watering to have their arms ready, and in case of any alarm, to march instantly to this post. And though our principal intention herein was to prevent our being disturbed by any sudden attack of the enemy's horse, yet it answered another purpose, which was not in itself less important : this was, to hinder our own people from straggling singly into the country, where we had reason to believe they would be surprised by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be extremely solicitous to pick up some of them, in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. To avoid this inconvenience, the strictest orders were given to

the sentinels, to let no person whatever pass beyond their post. But notwithstanding this precaution, we missed one Lewis Leger, who was the Commodore's cook: as he was a Frenchman, it was at first imagined that he had deserted, with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy: though this appeared, by the event, to be an ill-grounded surmise; for it was afterwards known that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, from whence he was transferred to Mexico, and then to Vera Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain. But the vessel being obliged, by some accident, to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped on shore, and was by the British Consul sent from thence to England, where he brought the first authentic account of the safety of the Commodore, and of his principal transactions in the South Seas. The relation he gave, of his own seizure was, that he rambled into the woods, at some distance from the barricado, where he had first attempted to pass, but had been stopped, and threatened to be punished; that his principal view was to get a quantity of limes for his master's store, and that in this occupation he was surprised unawares by four Indians, who stripped him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which at that time of the year shone with its greatest violence; that afterwards, at Mexico, his treatment in prison was sufficiently severe; so that the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the South Seas.

Towards the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding, and watering, and, in short, every one of our proposed employments at the harbour of Chequetan, were completed; so that, on the 27th of April, the Tryal's prize, the Carmelo, and the Carmin, were towed on shore, and scuttled, a quantity of combustible materials having been distributed in their upper works; and, the next morning, the Centurion, with the Gloucester, weighed anchor; though, as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached the offing, one of the boats was despatched back again, to set fire to our prizes; which was accordingly executed. After this, a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, enclosing a

letter to Mr. Hughes, who commanded the cutter, which had been ordered to cruise before the port of Acapulco, when we ourselves quitted that station.

When we were necessitated to proceed for Chequetan, to recruit our water, Mr. Anson considered that our arrival in that harbour would soon be known at Acapulco; and therefore he hoped, that on the intelligence of our being employed in port, the galleon might put to sea, especially as Chequetan is so very remote from the course generally steered by the galleon; he therefore ordered the cutter to cruise twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco, and her commander was directed, on perceiving the galleon under sail, to make the best of his way to the Commodore at Chequetan. As the *Centurion* was doubtless a much better sailer than the galleon, Mr. Anson, in this case, resolved to have got to sea as soon as possible, and to have pursued the galleon across the Pacific Ocean, where, supposing he should not have met with her in his passage, yet he was certain of arriving off Cape Spiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, before her; and that being the first land she makes on her return to the Philippines, we could not have failed to fall in with her by cruising a few days in that station. However, the Viceroy of Mexico ruined this project, by keeping the galleon in the port of Acapulco all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr. Hughes, the commander of the cutter, the time of whose return was now considerably elapsed, directed him to go back immediately to his former station before Acapulco, where he would find Mr. Anson, who resolved to cruise for him there a certain number of days; after which it was added, that the Commodore would return to the southward to join the rest of the squadron. This last article was inserted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got possession of the canoe, as we afterwards learnt they did; but could not impose on Mr. Hughes, who well knew that the Commodore had no squadron to join, nor any intention of steering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, bound across the vast Pacific Ocean in our way to China, we were impatient to run off the coast as soon as possible, since the stormy season was approaching apace. But now, when we had put to sea, we were further detained by the absence of the cutter, and the necessity we were under of standing towards Acapulco in search of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruise had been ex-

pired for near a fortnight, we expected that she had been discovered from the shore; and that the Governor of Acapulco had thereupon sent out a force to seize her, which, as she carried but six hands, was no very difficult enterprise. However, this being only conjecture, the Commodore, as soon as he got clear of the harbour of Chaquetin, stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her: and, to prevent her from passing by us in the dark, we brought to every night; and the Gloucester, whose station was a league within us towards the shore, carried a light, which the cutter could not but perceive, if she kept along shore, as we supposed she would do; besides, as a further security, the Centurion and Gloucester alternately showed two false fires every half-hour. Indeed, had she escaped us, she would have found orders in the canoe to return immediately before Acapulco, where Mr. Anson proposed to cruise for some days.

By the 2nd of May, we were advanced within three leagues of the Acapulco, and having seen nothing of our boat, we gave her over as lost: which, besides the compassionate concern for our shipmates, and for what it was apprehended they might have suffered, was in itself a misfortune, which in our present scarcity of hands, we were all greatly interested in. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the Commodore's prudence suggested a project, which we hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spanish and Indian prisoners in our possession, and a number of sick negroes, who could be of no service to us in navigating the ship. The Commodore, therefore, wrote a letter the same day to the Governor of Acapulco, telling him that he would release them all, provided the Governor returned the cutter's crew. This letter was despatched in the afternoon by a Spanish officer, of whose honour we had a good opinion, and who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of six other persons, who gave their parole for their return. The Spanish officer, too, besides the Commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition, signed by all the rest of the prisoners, beseeching the Governor to acquiesce in the terms proposed for their liberty.

From a consideration of the number of our prisoners, and the quality of some of them, we did not doubt but the Governor would readily comply with Mr. Anson's proposal; and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night,

intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an answer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday : but, both on Monday and Tuesday, we were driven so far off shore, that we could not hope that any answer could reach us ; and even on Wednesday morning, we found ourselves fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco ; however, as the wind was then favourable, we pressed forward with all our sail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land that afternoon. Whilst we were thus standing in, the sentinel called out from the mast-head, that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable distance to the south-eastward : this we took for granted was the answer of the Governor to the Commodore's message, and we instantly edged towards her : but as we approached her, we found to our unspeakable joy, that it was our own cutter. And though, while she was still at a distance, we imagined that she had been discharged out of the port of Acapulco by the Governor : yet, when she drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had suffered much greater hardships than could be expected from even the severities of a Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and were immediately put to bed, where, by rest and nourishing diet, which they were plentifully supplied with from the Commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour apace.

And now we learnt that they had kept the sea the whole time of their absence, which was above six weeks ; that when they had finished their cruise before Acapulco, and had just begun to ply to the westward, in order to join the squadron, a strong adverse current had forced them down the coast to the eastward, in spite of all their efforts to the contrary ; that at length, their water being expended, they were obliged to search the coast farther on the eastward, in quest of some convenient landing-place, where they might get a fresh supply ; that in this distress they ran upwards of eighty leagues to leeward, and found everywhere so large a surf, that there was not the least possibility of their landing ; that they passed some days in this dreadful situation without water, having no other means left them to allay their thirst than sucking the blood of the turtle which they caught ; that at last, giving up all hopes of succour, the heat of the climate, too, augmenting their necessities, and rendering their sufferings insupportable,

they abandoned themselves to despair, fully persuaded that they should perish by the most terrible of all deaths ; but that soon after there fell so heavy a rain, that on spreading their sails horizontally, they caught as much water as filled all their casks ; that immediately upon this providential supply, they stood to the westward, in quest of the Commodore ; and being now favoured by a strong current, they joined us in less than fifty hours from that time, after having been absent in the whole full forty-three days.

Having thus recovered our cutter, the sole object of our coming a second time before Acapulco, the Commodore determined not to lose a moment's time more, but to run off the coast with the utmost expedition, both as the stormy season, on the coast of Mexico, was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehensive of having the westerly monsoon to struggle with when we came upon the coast of China : for this reason, we no longer stood towards Acapulco, as at present we wanted no answer from the Governor. However, Mr. Anson resolved not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty which he had promised them : and therefore they were all immediately embarked in two launches, which belonged to our prizes ; those from the *Centurion* in one launch, and those from the *Gloucester* in the other. The launches were well equipped with masts, sails, and oars : and, lest the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a stock of water and provisions put on board them sufficient for fourteen days. There were discharged thirty-nine persons from on board the *Centurion*, and eighteen from the *Gloucester*, the greatest part of them Spaniards, the rest being Indians and sick negroes. We have since learnt that these two launches arrived safe at Acapulco, where the prisoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated. It seems the Governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging answer to our letter, and had at the same time ordered out two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions that were to be procured at Acapulco, which he intended as a present to the Commodore ; but these boats not having found our ships, were at length obliged to put back again, after having thrown all their provisions overboard in a storm which threatened their destruction.

The sending away our prisoners was our last transaction on the American coast ; for no sooner had we parted with them, than we and the *Gloucester* made sail to the s.w. Thus on the 6th of May, we for the last time lost sight of the mountains

of Mexico, persuaded that in a few weeks we should arrive at the river of Canton, in China, where we expected to meet with many English ships, and with numbers of our countrymen; and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable, well-frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniences and indulgences of a civilized life; blessings which now for near twenty months had never been once in our power.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BURNING OF THE GLOUCESTER.

WHEN we left the coast of America, we stood to the S.W. with a view of meeting the N.E. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers taught us to expect at seventy or eighty leagues from the land. We had, besides, another reason for standing to the southward, which was the getting to lat. 13° or 14° north, that being the parallel where the Pacific Ocean is most usually crossed, and consequently where the navigation is esteemed the safest; this last purpose we had soon answered, being in a day or two sufficiently advanced to the south. But though we were, at the same time, more distant from the shore than we had presumed was necessary for the falling in with the trade-wind, yet in this particular we were most grievously disappointed, the wind still continuing to the westward, or at best variable. As the getting into the N.E. trade was to us a matter of the last consequence, we stood yet more to the southward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all our efforts were for a long time unsuccessful, so that it was seven weeks from our leaving the coast before we got into the true trade-wind.

This was an interval in which we had at first believed we should well-nigh have reached the easternmost parts of Asia, but we were so baffled with the contrary and variable winds, which for all that time perplexed us, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth of the way. The delay alone would have been a sufficient mortification, but there were other circumstances attending it which rendered this situation not less terrible, and our apprehension perhaps still greater than any of our past calamities. For our two ships were by this

time extremely crazy, and many days had not passed before we discovered a spring in the fore-mast of the Centurion, which rounded about twenty-six inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at least four inches deep. And no sooner had the carpenters secured this mast with fishing it, than the Gloucester made a signal of distress to inform us that she had a spring in her main-mast, twelve feet below the trussel-trees, which appeared so dangerous that she could not carry any sail upon it. Our carpenters, on a strict examination of this mast, found it excessively rotten and decayed; and it being judged necessary to cut it down as low as it was defective, it was by this means reduced to nothing but a stump, which served only as a step to the top-mast.

These accidents augmented our delay, and being added to our other distresses, occasioned us great anxiety about our future safety. For though, after our departure from Juan Fernandez, we had enjoyed a most uninterrupted state of health till our leaving the coast of Mexico, yet the scurvy now began to make fresh havoc amongst our people, and we too well knew the effects of this disease, by our former fatal experience, to suppose that anything except a speedy passage could secure the greater part of our crew from being destroyed thereby. But as, after being seven weeks at sea, there did not appear any reasons that could persuade us we were nearer the trade-wind than when we set out, there was no ground for us to imagine that our passage would not prove at least three times as long as we at first expected, and consequently we had the melancholy prospect either of dying by the scurvy, or of perishing with the ship for want of hands to navigate her.

Indeed, several amongst us were willing to believe that in this warm climate, so different from what we felt in passing round Cape Horn, the violence of this disease, and its fatality, might be in some degree mitigated, as it had not been unusual to suppose that its particular virulence during that passage was in a great measure owing to the severity of the weather. But the ravage of the distemper in our present circumstances soon convinced us of the falsity of this speculation, as it likewise exploded certain other opinions which usually pass current about the cause and nature of this disease.

I have already observed that a few days after our running off the coast of Mexico, the Gloucester had her main-mast cut down to a stump, and we were obliged to fish her

fore-mast; and that these misfortunes were greatly aggravated by our meeting with contrary and variable winds for near seven weeks. When we reached the trade-wind, and it settled between the north and the east, yet it seldom blew with so much strength that the Centurion might not have carried all her small sails abroad without the least danger; so that had we been a single ship we might have run down our longitude apace, and have arrived at the Ladrões soon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men, who afterwards perished. But the Gloucester, by the loss of her main-mast, sailed so very heavily, that we had seldom any more than our top-sails set, and yet were frequently obliged to lie to for her. And I conceive that, on the whole, we lost little less than a month by our attendance upon her, in consequence of the various mischances she encountered.

During all this run, it was remarkable that we were rarely many days together, without seeing great numbers of birds, which is a proof that there are several islands, or at least rocks, scattered all along at no very considerable distance from our track; but the frequency of these birds seems to ascertain that there are many more than have been hitherto discovered; for the most part of the birds, we observed, were such as were known to roost on shore; and the manner of their appearance sufficiently evinced that they came from some distant haunt every morning and returned thither again in the evening, since we never saw them early or late, and the hour of their arrival and departure greatly varied, which we supposed was occasioned by our running nearer their haunts, or getting farther from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us, without any fluctuation, from the end of June till towards the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we esteemed, about three hundred leagues from the Ladrões, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again to the eastward in four days' time. This was a most dispiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of speedy relief, especially too as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the Gloucester: for in one part of these four days the wind lapsed to a calm, and the ships rolled very deep; by which means the Gloucester's fore-cap splitting, her fore-top-mast came by the board, and broke her fore-yard directly in the slings.

As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were under the necessity, as soon as a gale sprung up, to take her in tow, and near twenty of the healthiest and ablest of our seamen were removed from the duty of our own ship, and continued eight or ten days together on board the Gloucester, to assist in repairing her damage: but these things, mortifying as we thought them, were only the commencement of our disasters, for scarce had our people finished their business in the Gloucester, before we met with a most violent storm from the western board, which obliged us to lie to. At the beginning of this storm our ship sprung a leak, and let in so much water, that all our people, officers included, were constantly employed about the pumps: and the next day we had the vexation to see the Gloucester with her fore-top-mast once more by the board.

Nor was that the whole of her calamity, since whilst we were viewing her with great concern for this new distress, we saw her main-top-mast, which had hitherto served her as a jury-main-mast, share the same fate. This completed our misfortunes, and rendered them without resource; for we knew the Gloucester's crew were so few and feeble, that without our assistance they could not be relieved; whilst, at the same time, our sick were now so far increased, and those who remained in health so continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impossible for us to lend them any aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprised of the deplorable situation of the Gloucester's crew; for, when the storm abated, the Gloucester bore up under our stern, and Captain Mitchell informed the Commodore, that besides the loss of his masts, which was all that was visible to us, the ship had then no less than seven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept constantly at the pumps for the last twenty-four hours.

This last circumstance was indeed a most terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary distresses of the Gloucester, and required, if possible, the most speedy and vigorous assistance, which Captain Mitchell begged the Commodore to afford him; but the debility of our people, and our own immediate preservation, rendered it impracticable for the Commodore to comply with his request. All that could be done, was to send out boat on board, for a more particular account of the ship's condition.

Our boat soon returned with a representation of the state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by Captain Mitchell and all his officers; whence it appeared that she had sprung a leak, by the stern-post being loose, and working with every roll of the ship, and by two beams amidships being broken in the orlopie, no part of which, as the carpenters reported, could possibly be repaired at sea; that, besides having seven feet of water in the hold, which covered all their casks, so that they could neither come at fresh water nor provision, they had no mast standing, except the fore-mast, the mizzen-mast, and the mizzen-top-mast, nor had they any spare masts to get up in the room of those they had lost; that the ship was, besides, extremely decayed in every part, for her knees and clamps were all become quite loose, and her upper works, in general, were so crazy, that the quarter-deck was ready to drop down; that her crew was greatly reduced, as there remained alive on board her, officers included, no more than seventy-seven men, eighteen boys, and two prisoners; and that of this whole number only sixteen men, and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck.

The Commodore, on the perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, of which they seemed to be in the most pressing want, and at the same time sent his own carpenter on board them, to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found, on the strictest inquiry, that the preceding account was in no instance exaggerated, it plainly appeared there was no possibility of preserving the Gloucester any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships would not be able to free her, could we have spared the whole of our crew to her relief. There was no longer room for deliberation: the only step to be taken was the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the Gloucester, and the getting out of her as much as we could before she was destroyed. The Commodore, therefore, immediately sent an order to Captain Mitchell to put his people on board the Centurion as expeditiously as he could, now the weather was calm and favourable, and to take out such stores as he could get at, whilst the ship could be kept above water. And, as our leak required less attention, whilst the present easy weather continued, we sent our boats, with as many men as we could spare, to Captain Mitchell's assistance.

The removing the Gloucester's people on board us, and the

getting out such stores as could most easily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. It was with the greatest difficulty that the prize-money which the Gloucester had taken in the South Seas was secured, and sent on board the Centurion; nor could any more provision be got out than five casks of flour, three of which were spoiled by the salt water. Their sick men, amounting to near seventy, were conveyed into the boats with as much care as the circumstances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoisting them into the Centurion.

It was the 15th of August before the Gloucester was cleared of everything that was proposed to be removed; and, though the hold was now almost full of water, yet, as the carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim for some time, it was resolved she should be burnt. When she was set on fire, Captain Mitchell and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion: and we immediately stood from the wreck, not without some apprehensions, as we had only a light breeze, that, if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage our rigging: but she fortunately continued burning the whole night, so that though her guns fired successively as the flames reached them, yet it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up.

It might have been expected that, now being freed from the embarrassments which the Gloucester's frequent disasters had involved us in, we should have proceeded on our way much brisker than we had hitherto done, especially as we had received some small addition to our strength by the taking on board the Gloucester's crew. However, we were soon taught that our anxieties were not yet to be relieved, and that, notwithstanding all we had suffered, there remained much greater distresses which we were still to struggle with: for the late storm, which had proved so fatal to the Gloucester, had driven us to the northward of our intended course; and the current setting the same way, after the weather abated, had forced us yet a degree or two farther, so that we were now in $17\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north lat., instead of being in $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which was the parallel we proposed to keep, in order to reach the island of Guam. As it had been a perfect calm for some days since the cessation of the storm, and we were ignorant how near we were to the meridian of the Ladrões, though we supposed ourselves not to be far from it, we apprehended that we might be driven to the leeward of them by the current, without discovering them.

On this supposition, the only land we could make would be some of the eastern parts of Asia, where, if we could arrive, we should find the western monsoon in its full force, so that it would be impossible for the stoutest, best-manned ship to get in. •

Besides, this coast being between four and five hundred leagues distant from us, we, in our languishing circumstances, could expect no other than to be destroyed by the scurvy, long before the most favourable gale could enable us to complete so extensive a navigation : for our deaths were by this time become extremely alarming, no day passing in which we did not bury eight or ten, and sometimes twelve, of our men ; and those who had as yet continued healthy began to fall down apace. Indeed, we made the best use we could of our present calm, by employing our carpenters in searching after the leak, which, notwithstanding the little wind we had, was now considerable. The carpenters at length discovered it to be in the gunner's fore store-room, where the waters rushed in under the breast-hook on each side of the stem ; but, though they found where it was, they agreed it was impossible to stop it till they could come at it on the outside, which was evidently a matter not to be attempted till we should arrive in port. However, they did the best they could within board, and were fortunate enough to reduce it, which was a considerable relief to us.

We hitherto considered the calm which succeeded the storm, and which had now continued for some days, as a very great misfortune, since the currents were all the time driving us to the northward of our parallel, and we thereby risked the missing of the Ladrões, which we at present conceived ourselves to be very near. But, when a gale sprung up our condition was still worse, for it blew from the S.W., and, consequently, was directly opposed to the course we wanted to steer ; and though it soon veered to the N.E., yet this served only to tantalize us, and it returned back again, in a very short time, to its old quarter. However, on the 22nd of August, we had the satisfaction to find that the current was shifted, and had set us to the southward ; and on the 23rd, at day-break, we were cheered with the discovery of two islands in the western board. This gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits.

The nearest of these islands, as we learnt afterwards, was Anatacan : this we judged to be full fifteen leagues from us.

It seemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length. The other was the island of Serigan, which had rather the appearance of a rock, than of a place we could hope to anchor at. We were extremely impatient to get in with the nearest island, where we expected to find anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreshing our sick. But the wind proved so variable all day, and there was so little of it, that we advanced towards it but slowly; however, by the next morning, we were got so far to the westward, that we were in sight of a third island, which was that of Paxaras. This was very small, and the land low, so that we had passed within less than a mile of it in the night without observing it. At noon, being then not four miles from the island of Anatacan, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little solicitous for her return, as we considered our fate to depend upon the report we should receive; for the other two islands were, obviously enough, incapable of furnishing us with any assistance, and we knew not that there were any besides which we could reach.

In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no road for a ship to anchor in, the bottom being everywhere foul ground, and all except one small spot, not less than fifty fathoms in depth; that, on that spot there was thirty fathoms, though not above half a mile from the shore; and that the bank was steep and could not be depended on. They farther told us, that they had landed on the island, not without some difficulty, on account of the greatness of the swell; that they found the ground was everywhere covered with a kind of wild cane, or rush; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited; though the soil was good, and abounded with groves of cocoa-nut trees.

The account of the impossibility of anchoring at this island occasioned a general melancholy on board, for we considered it as little less than the prelude to our destruction: and our despondency was increased by a disappointment we met with the succeeding night, when as we were plying under top-sails, with an intention of getting nearer to the island, and of sending our boat on shore to load with cocoa-nuts for the refreshment of our sick, the wind proved squally, and blew so strong off shore, that we were driven too far to the southward to venture to send off our boat. And now the only possible circumstance that could secure the few which remained alive

from perishing, was the accidental falling in with some of the other Ladrone islands, better prepared for our accommodation; but as our knowledge of those islands was extremely imperfect, we were to trust entirely to chance for our guidance; only, as they are all of them usually laid down near the same meridian, and we conceived those we had already seen to be part of them, we concluded to stand to the southward, as the most probable means of discovering the rest.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AN EARTHLY PARADISE.

It was the 26th of August, 1742, in the morning, when we lost sight of the island of Anatacan, dreading that it was the last land we should ever fix our eyes on; but the next morning we discovered three other islands to the eastward, which were between ten and fourteen leagues distant from us. These were, as we afterwards learnt, the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan. We immediately steered towards Tinian, which was the middlemost of the three; but we had so much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forward by the currents, yet on the morrow, at daybreak, we had not advanced nearer than within five leagues of it. However, we kept on our course, and about ten o'clock we perceived a proa under sail to the southward, between Tinian and Aguigan.

As we imagined from hence that these islands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the necessary precautions for our own security, and endeavoured to prevent the enemy, as much as possible, from taking an advantage of our present wretched circumstances, of which we feared they would be sufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ship. We therefore mustered all our hands who were capable of standing to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter-deck guns with grape-shot; and that we might the more readily procure some intelligence of the state of these islands, we showed Spanish colours, and hoisted a red flag at the fore-top-mast head, hoping thereby to give our ship the appearance of the Manilla galleon, and to decoy some of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourselves, and

standing towards the land, we were near enough, at three in the afternoon, to send the cutter in-shore to find out a proper berth for the ship; and we soon perceived that a proa put off from the island to meet the cutter, fully persuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manilla ship. As we saw the cutter returning with the proa in tow, we instantly sent the pinnace to receive the proa and the prisoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand.

The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians, which were the people taken in the proa; and the Spaniard being immediately examined as to produce and circumstances of this island of Tinian, his account of it surpassed even our most sanguine hopes, for he informed us that though it was uninhabited, yet it wanted but few of the accommodations that could be expected in the most cultivated country. In particular he assured us that there was plenty of very good water; that ~~there was~~ an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry ~~running wild~~ on the island, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods afforded sweet and sour oranges, limes, lemons, and cocoa-nuts in great abundance, besides a fruit peculiar to these islands, which served instead of bread; that from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison; and that he himself was a serjeant of that garrison, who was sent hither with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam, on board a small barque, of about fifteen tons, which lay at anchor near the shore.

This relation was received by us with inexpressible joy: part of it we were ourselves able to verify on the spot, as we were by this time near enough to discover several numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the island: and we did not anywise doubt the rest of his narration, since the appearance of the shore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope that not only our necessities might be there fully relieved, and our diseased recovered, but that amidst those pleasing scenes which were then in view, we might procure ourselves some amusement and relaxation after the numerous fatigues we had undergone. For the prospect of the country did by no means resemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place; but had ~~much~~ more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been so artfully combined, and so judiciously

adapted to the slopes of the hills and inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver.

The Spanish serjeant from whom we received the account of the island, having informed us that there were some Indians on shore under his command, employed in jerking beef, and that there was a barque at anchor to take it on board, we were desirous, if possible, to prevent the Indians from escaping, since they would certainly have given the Governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival: we therefore immediately despatched the pinnacle to secure the barque, as the serjeant told us that was the only embarkation on the place; and then about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathoms. But though it was almost calm, and whatever vigour and spirit was to be found on board was doubtless exerted to the utmost on this pleasing occasion, when after having kept the sea for some months, we were going to take possession of this little paradise, yet we were full five hours in furling our sails. It is true we were somewhat weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnacle which were sent on shore; but it is not less true that, including those absent from the boats, and some negroes and Indian prisoners, all the hands we could muster, capable of standing at a gun, amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of whom, too, were incapable of duty, except on the greatest emergencies.

When we had furled our sails, our people were allowed to repose themselves during the remainder of the night, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone. But in the morning a party was sent on shore well armed, of which I myself was one, to make ourselves masters of the landing-place, since we were not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the island: we landed, however, without difficulty, for the Indians having perceived by our seizure of the barque the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the island. We found on shore many huts which they had inhabited, and which saved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents; one of these huts, which the Indians made use of for a store-house, was very large, being twenty yards long, and fifteen broad: this we immediately cleared of some bales of jerked beef which had been left in it, and converted it into an hospital for our sick, who, as soon as the place was ready to receive them, were brought on shore, being in all a hundred and twenty-eight. And notwithstanding

ing the extreme debility of the greatest part of our sick, it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land: for though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not lose above ten men more during the whole two months we stayed here: but our diseased, in general, reaped so much benefit from the fruits of the island, that in a week's time there were but few of them who were not so far recovered as to be able to move about without help.

This island lies in lat. $15^{\circ} 8'$ north, and long. from Acapulco $114^{\circ} 50'$ west. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much. The soil is everywhere dry and healthy, and being withal somewhat sandy, it is thereby the less disposed to rank and over-luxuriant vegetation; and hence the meadows and the bottoms of the woods are much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rose in gentle slopes from the very beach where we watered to the middle of the island, though the general course of its ascent was often interrupted by valleys of an easy descent, many of which wind irregularly through the country. These valleys, and the gradual swellings of the ground, which their different combinations gave rise to, were most beautifully diversified by the mutual encroachments of woods and lawns, which coasted each other, and traversed the island in large tracts.

The woods consisted of tall and well-spread trees, the greatest part of them celebrated either for their aspect, or their fruit; whilst the lawns were usually of a considerable breadth, their turf quite clean and uniform, it being composed of a very fine trefoil, which was intermixed with a variety of flowers. The woods, too, were in many places open, and free from all bushes and underwood, so that they terminated on the lawns with a well-defined outline, where neither shrubs nor weeds were to be seen; but the neatness of the adjacent turf was frequently extended to a considerable distance, under the hollow shade formed by the trees.

Nor were the allurements of Tinian confined to the excellency of its landscapes only, since the fortunate animals, which, during the greatest part of the year, are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake, in some measure, of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery; for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are cer-

tainly the most remarkable in the world, as they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally brown or black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the idea of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place. The cattle on Tinian, we computed, were at least ten thousand. We had no difficulty in getting near them, for they were not at all shy of us. Our first method of killing them was shooting them; but at last, when by accidents to be hereafter recited, we were obliged to husband our ammunition, our men ran them down with ease. Their flesh was extremely well tasted, and was believed by us to be much more easily digested than any we had ever met with. The fowls, too, were exceeding good, and were likewise run down with little trouble; for they could scarce fly farther than a hundred yards at a flight, and even that fatigued them to such a degree that they could not readily rise again; so that, aided by the openness of the woods, we could at all times furnish ourselves with whatever number we wanted.

Besides the cattle and the poultry, we found here abundance of wild hogs: these were most excellent food; but as they were a very fierce animal, we were obliged either to shoot them or to hunt them with large dogs, which we found upon the place at our landing, and which belonged to the detachment which was then upon the island amassing provisions for the garrison of Guam. As these dogs had been purposely trained to the killing of the wild hogs, they followed us very readily, and hunted for us: but, though they were a large bold breed, the hogs fought with so much fury, that they frequently destroyed them, whence we, by degrees, lost the greatest part of them.

This place was not only extremely grateful to us, from the plenty and excellency of its fresh provisions, but was as much, perhaps, to be admired on account of its fruits and vegetable productions, which were most happily adapted to the cure of the sea-scurvy. For in the woods there were inconceivable quantities of cocoa-nuts, with the cabbages growing on the same tree: there were, besides, guavas, limes, sweet and sour oranges, and a kind of fruit peculiar to these islands, called by the Indians rhymay, but by us the bread-fruit, for it was constantly eaten by us during our stay upon the island, instead

of bread, and so universally preferred to it, that no ship's bread was expended in that whole interval. It grew upon a tree which is somewhat lofty, and which towards the top divides into large and spreading branches. The leaves of this tree are of a remarkably deep green, are notched about the edges, and are generally from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The fruit itself is found, indifferently, on all parts of the branches: it is in shape rather elliptical than round; it is covered with a rough rind, and is usually seven or eight inches long; each of them grows singly, and not in clusters. This fruit is fittest to be used when it is full grown, but still green, in which state, after it is properly prepared, by being roasted in the embers, its taste has some distant resemblance to that of an artichoke's bottom, and its texture is not very different, for it is soft and spongy. As it ripens it becomes softer, and of a yellow colour, when it contracts a luscious taste and an agreeable smell, not unlike a ripe peach; but then it is esteemed unwholesome, and is said to produce fluxes. Besides the fruits already enumerated, there were many other vegetables, such as water melons, dandelion, creeping purslain, mint, scurvy grass, and sorrel, all which, together with the fresh meats of the place, we devoured with great eagerness, prompted thereto by the strong inclination which in scorbutic disorders, nature never fails of exciting for these powerful specifics.

It will easily be conceived, from what has been already said, that our cheer upon this island was, in some degree, luxurious; but I have not yet recited all the varieties of provisions which we here indulged in. Indeed, we thought it prudent totally to abstain from fish, the few we caught at our first arrival having surfeited those who ate of them; but, considering how much we had been inured to that species of food, we did not regard this circumstance as a disadvantage, especially as the defect was so amply supplied by the beef, pork, and fowls, already mentioned, and by great plenty of wild fowl; for it is to be remembered, that, near the centre of the island, there were two considerable pieces of fresh water, which abounded with duck, teal, and curlew; not to mention the whistling plover, which we found there in prodigious plenty.

It may now, perhaps, be wondered at, that an island so exquisitely furnished with the conveniences of life, and so well adapted not only to the subsistence but likewise to the enjoyment of mankind, should be entirely destitute of inhabi-

tants, especially as it is in the neighbourhood of other islands, which, in some measure, depend upon this for their support. To obviate this difficulty, I must observe, that it is not fifty years since the island was depopulated. The Indians we had in our custody assured us that formerly the three islands of Tinian, Rota, and Guam, were all full of inhabitants; and that Tinian alone contained thirty thousand souls; but a sickness raging among these islands, which destroyed multitudes of the people, the Spaniards, to recruit their numbers at Guam, which were extremely diminished by the mortality, ordered all the inhabitants of Tinian thither, where, languishing for their former habitations, and their customary method of life, the greatest part of them in a few years died of grief.

An important and formidable exception to this place remains to be told. This is the inconvenience of the road, and the little security there is, in some seasons, for a ship at anchor. The only proper anchoring-places for ships of burthen is at the s.w. end of the island. Here the Centurion anchored in twenty and twenty-two fathom water, about a mile and a half distant from the shore, opposite to a sandy bay. The bottom of this road is full of sharp pointed coral rocks, which, during four months of the year, that is, from the middle of June to the middle of October, render it a very unsafe anchorage. This is the season of the western monsoons: when near the full and change of the moon, but more particularly at the change, the wind is usually variable all round the compass, and seldom fails to blow with such fury that the stoutest cables are not to be confided in. What adds to the danger at these times is the excessive rapidity of the tide of flood, which sets to the s.e. between this island and that of Aguigan, a small islet near the southern extremity of Tinian. This tide runs at first with a vast head and overfall of water, occasioning such a hollow and overgrown sea as is scarcely to be conceived; so that we were under the dreadful apprehensions of being pooped by it, though we were in a sixty-gun ship.

Whilst we were employed removing our sick on shore, four of the Indians on the island, being part of the Spanish serjeant's detachment, came and surrendered themselves to us; so that, with those we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our custody. One of the four who submitted undertook to show us the most convenient place for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that service; but one of them unwarily trusting the Indian

with his firelock and pistol, the Indian escaped with them into the woods. His countrymen who remained behind were apprehensive of suffering for this perfidy of their comrade, and therefore begged leave to send one of their own party into the country, who, they engaged, should both bring back the arms, and persuade the whole detachment from Guam to submit to us. The Commodore granted their request; and one of them was despatched on this errand, who returned next day, and brought back the firelock and pistol, but assured us he had found them in a pathway in the wood, and protested that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen. This report had so little the air of truth, that we suspected there was some treachery carrying on; and therefore, to prevent any further communication amongst them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power on board the ship, and did not permit them to go any more on shore.

When our sick were well settled on the island, we employed all the hands that could be spared from attending them in arming the cables with a good rounding, several fathom from the anchor, to secure them from being rubbed by the coral rocks, which here abounded. This being completed, our next occupation was our leak; and, in order to raise it out of the water, we, on the 1st of September, began to get the guns aft, to bring the ship by the stern; and now the carpenters ripped off what was left of the old sheathing, caulked all the seams on both sides the cutwater, and leaded them over, and then new sheathed the bows on the surface of the water. Upon our beginning to return the guns to their ports, however, we had the mortification to perceive that the water rushed into the ship in the old place, with as much violence as ever. Hereupon we were necessitated to begin again: and that our second attempt might be more successful, we cleared the fore store-room, by which means we raised the ship about three feet out of the water forwards. The carpenters now ripped off the sheathing lower down, new caulked all the seams, and afterwards laid on new sheathing; and then, supposing the leak to be effectually stopped, we began to move the guns forward; but the upper-deck guns were scarcely replaced, when, to our amazement, it burst out again. As we durst not cut away the lining within board, lest a butt-end or plank might start, and we might go down immediately, we had no other resource left than chinding and caulking within board. Indeed by this means the leak was stopped for some time;

but when our guns were all fixed in their ports, and our stores were taken on board, the water again forced its way through a hole in the stem, where one of the bolts was driven in. We on this desisted from all further efforts, being at last well assured that the defect was in the stem itself, and that it was not to be remedied till we should have an opportunity of heaving down.

In the first part of the month of September several of our sick were tolerably recovered by their residence on shore; and, on the 12th of September, all those who were so far relieved since their arrival as to be capable of doing duty, were sent on board the ship; and then the Commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he went with the view of staying a few days to establish his health, being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be trusted to for the removal of this dreadful malady.

As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the island, we began to send our casks on shore to be fitted up, which, till this time, could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewise weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which, we suspected, had by this time received considerable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the Commodore, for our greater security, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels: besides which they were cackled twenty fathom from the anchors, and seven fathom from the surface, with a good rounding of a four-inch-and-half hawser. And being persuaded that the dangers of this road demanded our utmost foresight, we, to all these precautions, added that of lowering the main and foreyard close down, that, in case of blowing weather, the wind might have less power upon the ship to make her ride a strain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we waited till the new moon, which was the 18th of September, when riding safe that and the three succeeding days, though the weather proved very squally and uncertain, we flattered ourselves, for I was then on board, that the prudence of our measures had secured us from all accidents; but on the 22nd the wind blew from the eastward with such fury, that we soon despaired of

riding out the storm. In this conjuncture we should have been extremely glad if the Commodore and the rest of our people on shore, which were the greatest part of our hands, had been on board us, since our only hopes of safety seemed to depend on our putting immediately to sea. But all communication with the shore was now absolutely cut off, for there was no possibility that a boat could live, so that we were necessitated to ride it out till our cables parted. Indeed we were not long expecting this dreadful event, for the small bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ship swung off to the best bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind still increased; though, notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the tide ran with so much rapidity as to prevail over it: for the tide, which set to the northward at the beginning of the hurricane, turning suddenly to the southward, about six in the evening, forced the ship before it, in spite of the storm which blew upon the beam.

The sea now broke most surprisingly all round us, and a large tumbling swell threatened to poop us; by which the long boat, at this time moored astern, was on a sudden canted so high, that it broke the transom of the Commodore's gallery, whose cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtless have risen as high as the taffarel, had it not been for the stroke, which stove the boat all to pieces. About eight the tide slackened; but the wind not abating, the best bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted at eleven. Our sheet-anchor, which was the only one we had left, was instantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom, we were driven from twenty-two into thirty five fathoms; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two-thirds of another, we could not find ground with sixty fathoms of line. This was a plain indication that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us long. In this pressing danger Mr. Saumarez, our first lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired, and lights to be shown, as a signal to the Commodore of our distress; and, in a short time after, it being then about one o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, drove us off the bank and forced us out to sea, leaving behind us on the island Mr. Anson, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to a hundred and thirteen persons.

CHAPTER XXV.

IMPRISONED ON THE ISLAND OF TINIAN.

THE storm which drove the Centurion to sea, blew with too much turbulence to permit either the Commodore, or any of the people on shore, to hear the guns which she fired as signals of distress; and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the explosions from being observed; so that, when at daybreak it was perceived from the shore that the ship was missing, there was the utmost consternation amongst them, for much the greatest part of them immediately concluded that she was lost, and entreated the Commodore that the boat might be sent round the island to look after the wreck; and those who believed her safe had scarcely any expectation that she would ever be able to make the island again, since the wind continued to blow strong at east, and they well knew how poorly she was manned and provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale. In either of these views, their situation was indeed most deplorable; for if the Centurion was lost, or should be incapable of returning, there appeared no possibility of their ever getting off the island, as they were at least six hundred leagues from Macao, which was their nearest port: and they were masters of no other vessel than the small Spanish barque, which would not even hold a fourth part of their number.

Nor was this the worst they had to fear; for they had reason to apprehend that the Governor of Guam, when he should be informed of their circumstances, might send a force sufficient to overpower them, and to remove them to that island; and then the most favourable treatment they could expect would be to be detained prisoners during life, since, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their distant settlements, it was rather to be supposed that the Governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commissions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.

In the midst of these gloomy reflections, Mr. Anson, though he always kept up his usual composure and steadiness, had doubtless his share of disquietude. However, having soon

projected a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation, he first communicated it to some of the most intelligent persons about him; and having satisfied himself that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it. With this view, he represented to them how little foundation there was for their apprehensions of the Centurion's being lost; that he should have presumed they had been all of them better acquainted with sea affairs than to give way to the impression of so chimerical a fright; that he doubted not but if they would seriously consider what such a ship was capable of enduring, they would confess there was not the least probability of her having perished; that he was not without hopes that she might return in a few days; but if she did not, the worst that could be imagined was, that she was driven so far to the leeward of the island that she could not regain it, and that she would, consequently, be obliged to bear away for Macao, on the coast of China; that, as it was necessary to be prepared against all events, he had, in this case, considered of a method of carrying them off the island, and of joining their old ship the Centurion again at Macao; that this method was to haul the Spanish barque on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty tons burthen, and would enable her to carry them all to China; that he had consulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this proposal was very feasible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it but the united resolution and industry of the whole body: and having added that, for his own part, he would share the fatigue and labour with them, he concluded with representing to them the importance of saving time; urging that in order to be the better secured at all events, it was expedient to set about the work immediately, and to take it for granted that the Centurion would not be able to put back; since, if she did return, they should only throw away a few days' application; but if she did not, their situation and the season of the year required their utmost despatch.

These remonstrances, though not without effect, did not at first operate so powerfully as Mr. Anson could have wished: but at last being convinced of the impossibility of the ship's return, they betook themselves zealously to the different tasks allotted them, and were as industrious and eager as their commander could desire, punctually assembling by daybreak at

the rendezvous, whence they were distributed to their different employments, which they followed with unusual vigour till night came on.

A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out, "A sail!" This spread a general joy, every one supposing that it was the ship returning; but presently a second sail was descried, which quite destroyed their first conjecture, and made it difficult to guess what they were. The Commodore eagerly turned his glass towards them, and saw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that these were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this sudden and unexpected suggestion wrought on him so powerfully, that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged, without speaking to any one, instantly to retire to his tent, where he passed some bitter moments, in the firm belief that the ship was lost, and that now all his views of further distressing the enemy, and of still signalizing his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end.

However, he was soon relieved from those disturbing thoughts, by discovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas; and perceiving that they made towards the shore, he directed every appearance that could give them any suspicion to be removed, concealing his people in the adjacent thickets, ready to secure the Indians when they should land; but after the proas had stood in within a quarter of a mile of the beach, they suddenly stopped short, and remaining there motionless for near two hours, they then got under sail again, and steered to the southward.

If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their safety depended, we shall find that, independent of other matters, which were of as much consequence, the lengthening of the barque alone was attended with great difficulty. It providentially happened that the carpenters, both of the Gloucester and of the Tryal, with their chests of tools, were on shore when the ship drove out to sea; the smith, too, was on shore, and had with him his forge and several of his tools, but unhappily his bellows had not been brought from on board; so that he was incapable of working, and without his assistance they could not hope to proceed with their design. Their first attention, therefore, was to make him a pair of bellows, but in this they were for some time puzzled, by their

want of leather ; however, as they had hides in sufficient plenty, and they had found a hogshhead of lime, which the Indians or Spaniards had prepared for their own use, they tanned a few hides with this lime ; and though we may suppose the workmanship to be but indifferent, yet the leather they thus procured answered the intention tolerably well, and the bellows, to which a gun-barrel served for a pipe, had no other inconvenience than that of being somewhat strong scented, from the imperfection of the tanner's work.

Whilst the smith was preparing the necessary iron-work, others were employed in cutting down trees, and sawing them into planks ; and this being the most laborious task, the Commodore wrought at it himself, for the encouragement of his people. But there being neither blocks nor-cordage sufficient for tackles to haul the barque on shore, this occasioned a new difficulty ; however, it was at length resolved to get her up on rollers, since for these the body of the cocoa-nut tree was extremely well fitted, as its smoothness and circular turn prevented much labour, and suited it to the purpose with very little workmanship. A number of these trees were therefore felled, and the ends of them properly opened for the insertion of handspikes ; and in the meantime, a dry dock was dug to receive the barque, and ways were laid from thence quite into the sea, to facilitate the bringing her up.

Neither were these the whole of their occupations, since, besides those who were thus busied in preparing measures towards the future enlargement of the barque, a party was constantly ordered to kill and provide provisions for the rest. And though in these various employments, some of which demanded considerable dexterity, it might have been expected there would have been great confusion and delay ; yet good order being once established, and all hands engaged, their preparation advanced apace.

The main work now proceeding successfully, the officers began to consider of all the articles which would be necessary to the fitting out of the barque for the sea : on this consultation it was found that the tents on shore, and the spare cordage accidentally left there by the Centurion, together with the sails and rigging already belonging to the barque, would serve to rig her indifferently well, when she was lengthened. And as they had tallow in plenty, they proposed to pay her bottom with a mixture of tallow and lime, which it was known was not ill adapted to that purpose : so that with

respect to her equipment she would not have been very defective. There was, however, one exception which would have proved extremely inconvenient, and that was her size: for as they could not make her quite forty tons burthen, she would have been incapable of containing half the crew below the deck, and she would have been so top-heavy, that if they were all at the same time ordered upon deck, there would be no small hazard of her oversetting; but this was a difficulty not to be removed, as they could not augment her beyond the size already proposed.

After the manner of rigging and fitting up the barque was considered and regulated, the next essential point to be thought on was, how to procure a sufficient stock of provisions for their voyage: and here they were greatly at a loss what expedient to have recourse to, as they had neither grain nor bread of any kind on shore, their bread-fruit, which would not keep at sea, having all along supplied its place; and though they had live cattle enough, yet they had no salt to cure beef for a sea-store, nor would meat take salt in that climate. Indeed, they had preserved a small quantity of jerked beef, which they found upon the place at their landing; but this was greatly disproportioned to the run of near six hundred leagues, which they were to engage in, and the number of hands they should have on board. It was at last, however, resolved to put on board as many cocoa-nuts as they possibly could, to prolong to the utmost their jerked beef by a very sparing distribution of it, and to endeavour to supply their want of bread by rice: to furnish themselves with which it was proposed, when the barque was fitted up, to make an expedition to the island of Rota, where they were told that the Spaniards had large plantations of rice under the care of the Indian inhabitants.

But the most alarming circumstance, and which, without the providential interposition of very improbable events, would have rendered all their schemes abortive, remains yet to be related. The general idea of the fabric and equipment of the vessel was settled in a few days; and this being done, it was not difficult to frame some estimation of the time necessary to complete her. After this it was natural to expect that the officers would consider the course they were to steer and the land they were to make. These reflections led them to the disheartening discovery that there was neither compass nor quadrant on the island. Indeed the Commodore had brought

a pocket-compass on shore for his own use, but Lieutenant Brett had borrowed it to determine the position of the neighbouring islands, and he had been driven to sea in the *Centurion* without returning it. And as to a quadrant, that could not be expected to be found on shore; since, as it was of no use on land, there could be no reason for bringing it from on board the ship.

There were now eight days elapsed since the departure of the *Centurion*, and yet they were not in any degree removed from this terrible perplexity: at last, in rummaging a chest belonging to the Spanish barque, they discovered a small compass, which though little better than the toys usually made for the amusement of schoolboys, was to them an invaluable treasure. And a few days after, by a similar good providence, they met with a quadrant on the sea-shore, which had been thrown overboard amongst other lumber, belonging to the dead. The quadrant was eagerly seized: but on examination it wanted vanes, and therefore in its present state was altogether useless: however, Providence still continuing favourable, it was not long before a person, through curiosity, pulling out the drawer of an old table which had been driven on shore, found therein some vanes, which fitted the quadrant very well; and it being thus completed, it was examined by the known latitude of the place, and upon trial answered to a sufficient degree of exactness.

When now all these obstacles were in some degree removed, the business proceeded very successfully and vigorously. The necessary iron-work was in great forwardness; and the timbers and planks were all prepared; so that on the 6th of October, being the fourteenth day from the departure of the ship, they hauled the barque on shore; and on the two succeeding days she was sawn asunder, though with the caution not to cut her planks; and her two parts being separated the proper distance from each other, and the materials being all ready beforehand, they, the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with no small despatch in their proposed enlargement of her; whence by this time they had all their future operations so fairly in view, and were so much masters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finished, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to sea.

But their projects and labour were now drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion; for on the 11th of October, in the

afternoon, one of the Gloucester's men being upon a hill in the middle of the island, perceived the Centurion at a distance, and running down with his utmost speed towards the landing-place, he in the way saw some of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with great ecstasy, "The ship, the ship!" This being heard by Mr. Gordon, a lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's transport that this report was true—Mr. Gordon directly hastened towards the place where the Commodore and his people were at work, and being fresh and in breath easily outstripped the Gloucester's man, and got before him to the Commodore, who, on hearing this pleasing and unexpected news, threw down the axe with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through, for the first time, the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved: whilst the others, who were present, instantly ran down to the sea-side in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently longed after and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening the Centurion was visible in the offing to them all: and the boat being sent off with eighteen men, to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she the next afternoon happily cast anchor in the road, where the Commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ADVENTURES OF THE CENTURION.

THE Centurion being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, it is high time that the reader should be apprised of the fatigues and distresses to which we whom the Centurion carried off to sea were exposed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the island.

It was the 22nd of September, about one o'clock, in an extreme dark night, when, by the united violence of storm and tide, we were driven from our anchors and forced to sea. In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board to navigate the ship than a hundred and eight hands, several negroes and Indians included: this was scarcely the

fourth part of our complement; and of these the greater number were either boys or such as, being but lately recovered from the scurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No sooner were we at sea, but by the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, we made a great quantity of water through the hawse-holes, ports, and scuppers, which, added to the constant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a sufficient employment for us all. But, though we knew that this leakage, by being a short time neglected, would inevitably end in our destruction, yet we had other dangers then hanging over us, which occasioned this to be regarded as a secondary consideration only. For we all imagined that we were driving directly on the neighbouring island of Aguigan, which was about two leagues distant: and as we had lowered our main and fore yards close down, we had no sails we could set but the mizzen, which was altogether insufficient to carry us clear of this imminent peril. Urged, therefore, by this pressing emergency, we immediately applied ourselves to work, endeavouring with the utmost of our efforts to heave up the main and fore yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make use of our lower canvas, we might possibly weather the island, and thereby save ourselves from this impending shipwreck.

But after three hours' ineffectual labour the jeers broke; and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged by mere debility to desist, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable. For we soon esteemed ourselves to be driven just upon the shore, and the night was so extremely dark that we expected to discover the island no otherwise than by striking upon it; so that the belief of our destruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occasioned us to pass several hours under the most serious apprehensions that each succeeding moment would send us to the bottom. Nor did these continued terrors of instantly striking and sinking end but with the daybreak, when we with great transport perceived that the island we had thus dreaded was at a considerable distance, and that a strong northern current had been the cause of our preservation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from Tinian did not abate till three days after, and then we swayed up the fore-yard, and began to heave up the main-yard, but the jeers broke again, and killed one of our people, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of

September, was a day of most severe fatigue to us all. Its business was no less than an endeavour to heave up the sheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preservation; for, not to mention the impediment it would be to our navigation, and hazard to the ship if we attempted to make sail with the anchor in its present situation, we had this most interesting consideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left, and without securing it we should be under the utmost difficulties and hazards whenever we fell in with the land again; and therefore we laboured at it until it growing dark, and we being excessively fatigued, we were obliged to desist, and to leave our work unfinished till the next morning, when, refreshed by a night's rest, we completed it and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was thus five days after our departure before we had thus secured our anchor; however, we the same day got up our main-yard, so that, having now conquered in some degree the distress and disorder which we were necessarily involved in at our first driving out to sea, and being enabled to make use of our canvas, we set our courses, and for the first time stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the island of Tinian, and joining our Commodore in a few days; since, by our accounts, we were only forty-seven leagues distant to the south-west. Hence, on the first day of October, having then run the distance necessary for making the island, according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it. But here we were unhappily disappointed, and were thereby convinced that a current had driven us considerably to the eastward. This discovery threw us into a new perplexity; for, as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and, consequently, how long we might still expect to be at sea, we had great apprehensions that our stock of water would prove deficient, since we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, finding many of our casks so decayed as to be half leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, having then a sight of the island of Guam; and hence we computed that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. Being now satisfied of our situation by this sight of land, we kept plying to the eastward, for the wind continuing fixed in the eastern board, we were obliged to tack often; and our crew was so weak that, without the assistance

of every man on board, if was not in our power to put the ship about. This severe employment lasted till the 11th of October, when, arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the shore, and on the evening of the same day came to an anchor in the road.

When the Commodore came on board the Centurion after her return to Tinian, he resolved to stay no longer at the island than was absolutely necessary to complete our stock of water, a work which we immediately set ourselves about. But the loss of our long-boat put us to great inconveniences in getting our water on board, for we were obliged to raft off all our casks, and the tide ran so strong that, besides the frequent delays and difficulties it occasioned, we more than once lost the whole raft.

Nor was this our only misfortune; for on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The Commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board, but we had near seventy men on shore, who had been employed in filling our water and procuring provisions. These had with them our two cutters, but as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen-oared barge to assist them, and at the same time made a signal for all that could to embark. The two cutters soon came off to us full of men; but forty of the company, who were busied in killing cattle in the woods, and in bringing them down to the landing-place, remained behind, and though the eighteen-oared barge was left for their convenience, yet, as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we in about five days' time returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival we found that the Spanish barque, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphosis; for those on shore despairing of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the barque, as formerly proposed, was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again, and to restore her to her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress, for they had brought the two

parts together, and would have soon completed her, had not our coming back put a period to their labours and disquietudes.

These people we had left behind informed us that, just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time ; but on the appearance of our ship, they crowded away and were presently out of sight.

It has been already observed that a part of the detachment sent to this island under the command of the Spanish serjeant, lay concealed in the wood : indeed we were less solicitous to find them out, as our prisoners all assured us that it was impossible for them to get off, and consequently that it was impossible for them to send any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to sea, and left the Commodore on shore, he one day, attended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the island. In this expedition, being on a rising ground, they observed in the valley beneath them, the appearance of a small thicket, which by attending to more nicely, they found had a progressive motion. This at first surprised them ; but they soon perceived that it was no more than several large cocoa bushes, which were dragged along the ground by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the serjeant's party, which was, indeed, true ; and, therefore, the Commodore and his people made after them, in hopes of tracing out their retreat.

The Indians remarking that they were discovered, hurried away with precipitation ; but Mr. Anson was so near them, that he did not lose sight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers entering, found to be abandoned, there being a passage from it which had been contrived for the convenience of flight, and which led down a precipice. They here met with an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of provisions, particularly salted spare-ribs of pork, which were excellent : and from what our people saw, they concluded that the extraordinary appetite which they had acquired at this island was not confined to themselves alone : for, it being about noon, the Indians laid out a very plentiful repast, considering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, in a manner, too, which plainly evinced that, with them, a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The Commodore having in vain searched

after the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers contented themselves with sitting down to the dinner, which was thus luckily fitted to their present hunger. I must add that, notwithstanding what our prisoners had asserted, we were afterwards assured that these Indians were carried off to Guam long before we left the place.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our second driving off to sea, we laboured indefatigably at getting in our water; and, having, by the 20th of October, completed it to fifty tons, which we supposed would be sufficient during our passage to Macao, we, on the next day, sent one of each mess on shore, to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits of the island as they possibly could, for the use of themselves and their messmates, when at sea: and these purveyors returning on the evening of the same day, we then set fire to the barque and proa, hoisted in our boats, and got under sail, steering away towards the south end of the island of Formosa, and taking our leave, for the third and last time, of the island of Tinian.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ARRIVAL IN CHINA.

ON the 21st of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the island of Tinian, steering the proper course for Macao. The eastern monsoon was now we reckoned fairly settled, and we had a constant gale blowing right astern, so that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day. But we had a large hollow sea pursuing us, which occasioned the ship to labour much, whence our leak was augmented, and we received great damage in our rigging, which by this time was grown very rotten: however, our people were now happily in full health, so that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps, and every other duty of the ship, with ease and cheerfulness.

Before we left Tinian we swept for our best and small bower, and employed the Indians to dive in search of them, but all to no purpose; hence, except our prize-anchors, which were stowed in the hold, and were too light to be depended

on, we had only our sheet-anchor left, and that being obviously much too heavy for a coasting anchor, we were under great concern how we should manage on the coast of China, where we were entire strangers, and where we should doubtless be frequently under the necessity of coming to an anchor. But we at length removed the difficulty by fixing two of our largest prize-anchors into one stock, and placing between their shanks two guns, four-pounders; this we intended to serve as a best bower: and a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined to our stream anchor, with guns between them, made us a small bower; so that besides our sheet-anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900, and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3rd of November, about three in the afternoon, we saw an island, which at first we imagined to be Botel Tobago Xima; but on our nearer approach we found it to be much smaller than that is usually represented; and about an hour after we saw another island five or six miles farther to the westward. As no chart or journal we had seen took notice of any island to the eastward of Formosa but Botel Tobago Xima, and as we had no observation of our latitude at noon, we were in some perplexity, apprehending that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the Bashee Islands. We, therefore, when night came on, brought to, and continued in that posture till the next morning, which proving dark and cloudy for some time prolonged our uncertainty; but it clearing up about nine o'clock, we again discerned the two islands above mentioned, and having now the day before us, we pressed forward to the westward, and by eleven got a sight of the southern part of the island of Formosa. This satisfied us that the second island we saw was Botel Tobago Xima.

When we had made the island of Formosa, we steered w. by s., in order to double its extremity, and kept a good look-out for the rocks of Vele Rete, which we did not discover till two in the afternoon. While we were passing by these rocks there was an outcry of "fire" on the fore-castle: this occasioned a general alarm, and the whole crew instantly flocked together in the utmost confusion, so that the officers found it difficult for some time to appease the uproar; but having at last reduced the people to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the furnace, where the bricks being over-heated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work;

hence, by pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguished with great facility.

In the evening we were surprised with a view of what we at first sight conceived to be breakers, but on a stricter examination we discerned them to be only a great number of fires on the island of Formosa. These we imagined were intended by the inhabitants of that island as signals to invite us to touch there; but that suited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of Macao as soon as possible. From Formosa, we steered W.N.W., and sometimes still more northerly, proposing to fall in with the coast of China, to the eastward of Pedro Blanco, as the rock so called is usually esteemed an excellent direction for ships bound to Macao. We continued this course till the following night, and then frequently brought to to try if we were in soundings; but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we struck ground, and then we had forty-two fathoms, and a bottom of gray sand mixed with shells.

At last, about midnight, we got sight of the mainland of China, bearing N. by W. four leagues distant. We then brought the ship to, with her head to the sea, proposing to wait for the morning; and before sunrise we were surprised to find ourselves in the midst of an incredible number of fishing-boats, which seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. I may well style their number incredible, since I cannot believe, upon the lowest estimate, that there were so few as six thousand, most of them manned with five hands, and none of those we saw with less than three. Nor was this swarm of fishing-vessels peculiar to that spot; for as we ran on to the westward we found them as abundant on every part of the coast. We at first doubted not but we should procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came close to the ship, and we endeavoured to tempt them, by showing them a number of dollars, a most alluring bait for Chinese of all ranks and professions, yet we could not entice them on board us, nor procure any directions from them; though I presume the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, as we could have no communication with them but by signs. Indeed we often pronounced the word Macao; but this we had reason to suppose they understood in a different sense, since in return they sometimes held up fish to us; and we afterwards learnt that the Chinese name for fish is of a somewhat similar sound.

Not being able to procure any information from the Chinese fishermen about our proper course to Macao, it was necessary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment; and concluding from our latitude, which was $22^{\circ} 42'$ north, and from our soundings, which were only seventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eastward of Pedro Blanco, we still stood on to the westward.

It was on the 5th of November, at midnight, when we first made the coast of China. The next day, about two o'clock, as we were standing to the westward, within two leagues of the coast, still surrounded by fishing-vessels, in as great numbers as at first, we perceived that a boat ahead of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn. This we considered as a signal made to us, either to warn us of some shoal, or to inform us that they would supply us with a pilot; we therefore immediately sent our cutter to the boat to know their intentions; when we were soon convinced of our mistake, and found that this boat was the Commodore of the whole fishery, and that the signal she had made was to order them all to leave off fishing and to return in shore, which we saw them instantly obey. Being thus disappointed, we kept on our course, and shortly after passed by two very small rocks, which lay four or five miles distant from the shore. We were now in hourly expectation of descrying Pedro Blanco; but night came on before we got sight of it, and we therefore brought to till the morning, when we had the satisfaction to discover it.

Pedro Blanco is a rock of a small circumference, but of a moderate height, resembling a sugar-loaf both in shape and colour, and is about seven or eight miles distant from the shore. We passed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, still keeping on to the westward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were abreast of a chain of islands, which stretched from east to west. These, as we afterwards found, were called the islands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are in all, small and great, fifteen or sixteen; but there are, besides, many more between them and the mainland of China. We left these islands on the starboard side, passing within four miles of them, where we had twenty-four fathoms water. Being still surrounded by fishing-boats, we once more sent the cutter on board some of them, to endeavour to procure a pilot, but we could not prevail; however, one of the Chinese directed us, by signs, to sail round the westernmost of the islands, or rocks, of Lema, and then to

haul up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathoms; at which time a rock, which bore S.S.E., five miles distant, and the grand Ladrone W. by S., about two leagues distant, afforded a most excellent direction in coming from the eastward: its latitude is $21^{\circ} 52'$ north, and it bears from Pedro Blanco S. 64° W., distant twenty-one leagues.

After having continued at anchor all night, we, on the 9th, at four in the morning, sent our cutter to sound the channel, where we proposed to pass; but before the return of the cutter, a Chinese pilot put on board the *Centurion*, and told us, in broken Portuguese, he would carry the ship to Macao for thirty dollars: these were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made sail. Soon after several other pilots came on board, who, to recommend themselves, produced certificates from the captains of many European ships they had piloted in, but we still continued under the management of the Chinese whom we at first engaged. By this time we learnt that we were not far distant from Macao, and that there were, in the river of Canton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ships, of which four were English. Our pilot carried us between the islands of Bamboo and Cabouce; but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often setting strongly against us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor, so that we did not get through between the two islands till the 12th of November, at two in the morning. In passing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathoms; and as we steered on N. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., between a number of other islands, our soundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they increased to seventeen fathoms, in which depth, the wind dying away, we anchored not far from the island of Lantoon, the largest of all this range of islands. At seven in the morning we weighed again, and steering W.S.W., and S.W. by W., we, at ten o'clock, happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathoms water, the city of Macao bearing W. by N. three leagues distant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruise of above two years' continuance, we once more arrived at an amicable port and a civilized country, where the conveniences of life were in great plenty, and where the naval stores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in some degree procured.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

VEXATIOUS PROCEEDINGS AT MACAO.

THE Commodore, not to depart from his usual prudence, no sooner came to an anchor in Macao road than he despatched an officer with his compliments to the Portuguese Governor of Macao, requesting his Excellency to advise him in what manner it would be proper to act to avoid offending the Chinese, which as there were then four of our ships in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty which the Commodore principally apprehended related to the duty usually paid by ships in the river of Canton, according to their tonnage; for as men-of-war are exempted, in every foreign harbour, from all manner of port charges, the Commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country to submit to this duty in China; and therefore he desired the advice of the Governor of Macao, who could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a British man-of-war, and, consequently, might be expected to give us the best lights for obviating this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening, with two officers sent by the Governor, who informed the Commodore that if the Centurion ventured into the river of Canton, the duty would certainly be expected; and therefore, if the Commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot, who should conduct us into another safe harbour, called the Typa, which was every way commodious for careening the ship, and where, in all probability, the above-mentioned duty would never be demanded.

This proposal the Commodore agreed to, and in the morning weighed anchor, under the direction of the Portuguese pilot, and steered for the intended harbour. As we entered between two islands, which form the eastern passage to it, we found our soundings decreased to three fathoms and a half. However, the pilot assuring us that this was the least depth we should meet with, we continued our course, till at length the ship stuck fast in the mud, with only eighteen feet water abaft; and the tide of ebb making, the water shallowed to sixteen feet, but the ship remained perfectly upright; we then sounded all round us, and discovering that the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our small bower, with two

hawsers an end, and at the return of the tide of flood, hove the ship afloat, and slipping the hawser, ran into the harbour, where we moored, in about five fathoms water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of islands, and is about six miles distant from Macao.

The next day, the Commodore paid a visit in person to the Governor, and was saluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. Mr. Anson's business, in this visit, was to solicit the Governor to grant us a supply both of provisions, and of such naval stores as were necessary to refit the ship. The Governor seemed really inclined to do us all the service he could, and assured the Commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the assistance in his power; but he at the same time frankly owned, that he dared not, openly, to furnish us with anything we demanded, unless we first produced an order for it from the Viceroy of Canton; since he himself neither received provisions for his garrison, nor any other necessaries, but by permission from the Chinese government; and as they took care only to victual him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vassal, whom they could at all times compel to submit to their own terms, by laying an embargo on his provisions.

On this declaration of the Governor, Mr. Anson resolved himself to go to Canton, to procure a licence from the Viceroy; and he accordingly hired a Chinese boat for himself and his attendants; but, just as he was ready to embark, the Hoppo, or Chinese custom-house officer of Macao, refused to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril. The Commodore at first endeavoured to prevail with the Hoppo to withdraw his injunction, and to grant a permit; and the Governor of Macao employed his interest with the Hoppo to the same purpose; but the officer continuing inflexible, Mr. Anson told him the next day that if the permit was any longer refused, he would man and arm the Centurion's boats; asking the Hoppo, at the same time, who, he imagined, would dare to oppose them in their passage? This threat immediately brought about what his entreaties had endeavoured at in vain: the permit was granted, and Mr. Anson went to Canton. On his arrival there he consulted with the supercargoes and officers of the English ships, how to procure an order from the Viceroy for the necessaries he wanted; but in this he had reason to suppose that the advice

they gave him, though well intended, was yet not the most prudent; for as it is the custom with these gentlemen never to apply to the supreme magistrate himself, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to transact all matters relating to the government by the mediation of the principal Chinese merchants, Mr. Anson was persuaded to follow the same method upon this occasion. When the Chinese merchants were spoken to, they readily undertook the management of this business, and promised to answer for its success; but after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuses, they threw off the mask, and declared they neither had made application to the Viceroy, nor could they, as he was too great a man, they said, for them to approach on any occasion. And not contented with having themselves thus grossly deceived the Commodore, they now used all their persuasion with the English at Canton to prevent them from intermeddling with anything that regarded him; representing to them, that it would in all probability embroil them with the government, and occasion them a great deal of unnecessary trouble.

It is difficult to assign a reason for this perfidious conduct of the Chinese merchants. However, the Commodore was finally satisfied that nothing was to be done by the interposition of the merchants, as it was on his pressing them to deliver a letter to the Viceroy, that they had declared they durst not interfere in the affair, and had confessed that, notwithstanding all their pretences of serving him, they had not yet taken one step towards it. Mr. Anson, therefore, told them that he would proceed to Batavia, and refit his ship there; but informed them, at the same time, that this was impossible to be done, unless he was supplied with a stock of provisions sufficient for his passage. The merchants, on this, undertook to procure him provisions, though they assured him that it was what they durst not engage in openly, but they proposed to manage it in a clandestine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other provisions, on board the English ships, which were now ready to sail; and these were to stop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive it. This article being settled, the Commodore, on the 16th of December, came back from Canton to the ship, seemingly resolved to proceed to Batavia to refit as soon as he should get his supplies of provisions on board.

But Mr. Anson, who never intended going to Batavia, found, on his return to the Centurion, that her main-mast was sprung

in two places, and that the leak was considerably increased ; so that upon the whole he was fully satisfied that it would be impossible for him to put to sea without refitting ; since if he left the port with his ship in her present condition, she would be in the utmost danger of foundering ; and therefore he resolved at all events to have her ~~have~~ ^{be} down before he departed from Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had observed at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the East India Company's affairs had occasioned all his perplexity ; for he now saw clearly that, if he had at first carried his ship into the river of Canton, and had immediately addressed himself to the Mandarins, who are the chief officers of state, he would most probably have had all his requests granted, and would have been soon despatched. Therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy of that place, acquainting him that he was commander-in-chief of a squadron of his Britannic Majesty's ships-of-war, which had been cruising for two years past in the South Seas ; that on his way back to England, he had put into the port of Macao, having a considerable leak in his ship, and being in great want of provisions, so that it was impossible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ship was repaired, and he was supplied with the necessaries he wanted ; that he had been to Canton in hopes of being admitted to a personal audience of his Excellency ; but, being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had not been able to inform himself what steps were necessary to be taken to procure such an audience, and, therefore, was obliged to apply in this manner, to desire his Excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ proper workmen to refit his ship, and to furnish himself with provisions and stores, that he might be enabled to pursue his voyage to Great Britain.

This letter was translated into the Chinese language, and the Commodore delivered it himself to the Hoppo, or chief officer of the Emperor's customs at Macao, desiring him to forward it to the Viceroy of Canton, with as much expedition as he could. The officer at first seemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raised many difficulties about it : so that Mr. Anson suspected him of being in league with the merchants of Canton, who had always shown a great apprehension of the Commodore's having any immediate intercourse with the Viceroy or Mandarins : and therefore the Commodore, not without some

resentment, took back his letter from the Hoppo, and told him that he would immediately send it to Canton in his own boat, and would give his officer positive orders not to return without an answer from the Viceroy. The Hoppo perceiving the Commadore to be in earnest, and fearing to be called to an account for his refusal, begged to be intrusted with the letter, and promised to deliver it, and to procure an answer as soon as possible. On the 19th, in the morning, a Mandarin of the first rank, who was governor of the city of Janson, together with two Mandarins of an inferior class, and a considerable retinue of officers and servants, having with them eighteen half-galleys furnished with music, and decorated with a great number of streamers, and full of men, came to grapple ahead of the Centurion; whence the Mandarin sent a message to the Commadore, telling him that he (the Mandarin) was ordered by the Viceroy of Canton to examine the condition of the ship; therefore, desiring the ship's boat might be sent to fetch him on board. The Centurion's boat was immediately despatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; in particular, a hundred of the most sightly of the crew were dressed in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck against his arrival.

When he entered the ship he was saluted by the drums and what other military music there was on board; and passing by the newly-formed guard, he was met by the Commadore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the Mandarin explained his commission, declaring that he was directed to examine all the articles mentioned in the Commadore's letter to the Viceroy, and to confront them with the representation that had been given of them; that he was, in the first place, instructed to inspect the leak, and had for that purpose brought with him two Chinese carpenters.

The Mandarin appeared to be a person of very considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and honesty than is to be found in the generality of the Chinese. After the necessary inspections had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chinese carpenters reported to be to the full as dangerous as it had been described, and consequently that it was impossible for the Centurion to proceed to sea without being refitted, the Mandarin expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the Commadore's letter. The Commadore now told the Mandarin, and those who were with them, that, besides the request he made for a general licence to furnish

himself with whatever his present situation required, he had a particular complaint to prefer against the proceedings of the custom-house of Macao; that at his first arrival the Chinese boats had brought on board him plenty of greens and variety of fresh provisions for daily use; that though they had always been paid to their full satisfaction, yet the custom-house officers at Macao had soon forbid them; by which means he was deprived of those refreshments which were of the utmost consequence to the health of **his men** after their long and sickly voyage; and that as **they**, the Mandarins had informed themselves of his wants, and were eye-witnesses of the force and strength of his ship, they might be satisfied it was not because he had no power to supply himself, that he desired the permission of the government to purchase what provisions he stood in need of.

The first Mandarin acquiesced in the justness of our demand, and told the Commodore that he should that night proceed for Canton; that on his arrival a council of Mandarins would be summoned, of which he was a member, and that by being employed in the present commission, he was of course the Commodore's advocate; that as he was himself fully convinced of the urgency of Mr. Anson's necessity, he did not doubt but, on the representation he should make of what he had seen, the council would be of the same opinion; and that all which was demanded would be amply and speedily granted: that with regard to the Commodore's complaint of the custom-house of Macao, this he would undertake to rectify immediately by his own authority. And then desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provisions necessary for the consumption of the ship during one day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning.

When this weighty affair was thus in some degree regulated, the Commodore invited him and his two attendant Mandarins to dinner, telling them at the same time that if his provision, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to, so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike, though Mr. Anson was not apprised of it. However, his guests did not entirely fast; for the three Mandarins completely finished the white part of four large fowls. They were indeed extremely embarrassed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of

them; so that after some fruitless attempts to help themselves, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in small pieces for them.

After their departure, the Commodore, with great impatience, expected the resolution of the council, and the proper licences to enable him to refit the ship. For it must be observed, as hath already appeared from the preceding narration, that the Chinese were forbid to have any dealings with him; so that he could neither purchase stores nor necessities, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themselves in his service until the permission of the government was first obtained.

A short time before this, Captain Saunders took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, and was charged with despatches from the Commodore; and in the month of December, Captain Mitchell, Colonel Cracherode, and Mr. Taswel, one of the agent-victuallers, with his nephew, Mr. Charles Herriot, embarked on board some of our Company's ships; and I having obtained the Commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I must observe, too, having omitted it before, that whilst we lay at Macao, we were informed by the officers of our Indiamen, that the *Severn* and *Pearl*, the two ships of our squadron which had separated from us off Cape Noir, were safely arrived at Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the Mandarin, Governor of Janson, at his leaving Mr. Anson, several days were elapsed before there was any advice from him; and Mr. Anson was privately informed there were great debates in council upon his affair, partly perhaps owing to its being so unusual a case, and in part to the influence, as I suppose, of the intrigues of the French at Canton; for they had a countryman and fast friend residing on the spot, who spoke the language well, and was not unacquainted with the venality of the government, nor with the persons of several of the magistrates, and consequently could not be at a loss for means of traversing the assistance desired by Mr. Anson.

However, notwithstanding all these obstacles, it should seem that the representation of the Commodore to the Mandarins, of the facility with which he could right himself, if justice were denied him, had at last its effect; since, on the 5th of January, in the morning, the Governor of Janson, the Commodore's advocate, sent down the Viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the *Centurion*, and for supplying her

people with all they wanted. Having now the necessary licences, a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board the next day, to treat about the work they were to do, all which they proposed to undertake by the great. They demanded at first to the amount of a thousand pounds sterling for the repairs of the ship, the boats, and the masts, but at last agreed that the carpenters should have to the amount of about six hundred pounds for their work, and that the smiths should be paid for their iron-work by weight, allowing them at the rate of three pounds a hundred nearly for the small work, and forty-six shillings for the large.

This being regulated, the Commodore next exerted himself to get the most important business of the whole completed; I mean the heaving down of the *Centurion*, and examining the state of her bottom. The first lieutenant, therefore, was despatched to Canton, to hire two junks, one of them being intended to heave down by, and the other to serve as a magazine for the powder and ammunition; whilst, at the same time, the ground was smoothed on one of the neighbouring islands, and a large tent was pitched for lodging the lumber and provisions, and near a hundred Chinese caulkers were soon set to work on the decks and sides of the ship. But all these preparations, and the getting ready the careening gear, took up a great deal of time; for the Chinese caulkers, though they worked very well, were far from being expeditious. Besides, it was the 26th of January before the junks arrived; and the necessary materials, which were to be purchased at Canton, came down very slowly; partly from the distance of the place, and partly from delays and backwardness of the Chinese merchants.

At last, all things being prepared, they, on the 22nd of February, in the morning, hove out the first course of the *Centurion's* starboard side, and had the satisfaction to find that her bottom appeared sound and good: and the next day, having by that time completed the new sheathing of the first course, they righted her again, to set up anew the careening gear, which had stretched much. Thus they continued heaving down, and often righting the ship, from a suspicion of their careening tackle, till the 3rd of March, when having completed the paying and sheathing the bottom, which proved to be everywhere very sound, they, for the last time, righted the ship, to their great joy.

* As soon as the *Centurion* was righted, they took on board

her powder and gunners' stores, and proceeded with getting in their guns as fast as possible, and then used their utmost expedition in repairing the fore-mast, and in completing the other articles of her refitment.

It was the beginning of April when they had new-rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and had fitted her for the sea; and, before this time, the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the Commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. At length, about the 3rd of April, two Mandarin boats came on board from Macao, to press him to leave their port; and this having been often urged before though there had been no pretence to suspect Mr. Anson of any affected delays, he, at this last message, answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper, and no sooner. After this rebuke the Chinese, though it was not in their power to compel him to depart, immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care their injunctions should be complied with, that from thenceforwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.

The 6th of April the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward; and by the 15th, she was got into the Macao road, completing her water as she passed along, so that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she, at three in the afternoon of that day, weighed and made sail, and stood to sea.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CAPTURE OF THE MANILLA GALLEON.

THE Commodore was now got to sea, with his ship well refitted, his stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board; his crew, too, was somewhat reinforced, for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of them Lascars, or Indian sailors,

and the rest Dutch. He gave out at Macao that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the westerly monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet, by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship, and the dexterity of his hands, he had persuaded not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters sent on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real design was of a very different nature, for he supposed that, instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla, there would be this year in all probability two; since, by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore, not discouraged by his former disasters, resolved again to risk the casualties of the Pacific Ocean, and to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Spiritu Santo, on the island of Samal, which is the first land they always make at the Philippine Islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station time enough to intercept them. It is true they were said to be stout vessels, mounting forty-four guns apiece, and carrying above five hundred hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had but two hundred and twenty-seven hands on board, of which near thirty were boys. But this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea-engagement than theirs, and as he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves after a most extraordinary manner when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manilla galleons.

This project the Commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts ever since his leaving the coast of Mexico. And the greatest mortification which he had received, from the various delays he had met with in China, was his apprehension lest he might be thereby so long retarded as to let the galleons escape him. Indeed, at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely secret, for there being a great intercourse and a mutual connection of interests between that port and Manilla, he had reason to fear that, if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manilla, and measures would be taken to

prevent the galleons from falling into his hands. But, being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manilla ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should choose a station where he could not fail of meeting with them; and, though they were stout ships and full manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them, at least, could not fail of becoming his prize.

This speech of the Commodore was received by his people with great joy; since no sooner had he ended, than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and declared their determination to succeed or perish, whenever the opportunity presented itself.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao, she stood for some days to the westward, and on the 1st of May they saw part of the island of Formosa; and steering thence to the southward, they, on the 4th of May, were in the latitude of the Bashee Islands. They, therefore, kept a good look-out, and, about seven in the evening, discovered from the mast-head five small islands, which were judged to be the Bashees.

After getting a sight of the Bashee Islands, they stood between the S. and S.W. for Cape Spiritu Santo; and the 20th of May at noon they first discovered that Cape. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several round hummocks on it. As it was known that there were sentinels placed upon this Cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship when she first falls in with the land, the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in, to prevent being discovered. And this being the station where it was resolved to cruise for the galleons, they kept the Cape between the south and the west, and endeavoured to confine themselves between lat. $12^{\circ} 50'$ and $13^{\circ} 5'$.

It was the last of May by the foreign style, when they arrived off this Cape, and the month of June by the same style, being that in which the Manilla ships are usually expected; the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour, with the utmost impatience, for the happy crisis which was to balance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew, the Com-

modore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the working of the great-guns, and in the use of their small-arms. This had been his practice more or less at every convenient season during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it, in his engagement with the galleon, were an ample recompensa for all his care and attention.

It was the last of May (N.S.) when the Centurion arrived off Cape-Spiritu Santo; and consequently the next day the month began in which the galleons were to be expected. The Commodore, therefore, made all necessary preparations for receiving them, hoisting out his longboat, and lashing her alongside, that the ship might be ready for engaging if they fell in with the galleons during the night. All this time, too, he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the Cape as not to be discovered. But it has been since learnt, that notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manilla, where though it was at first disbelieved, yet on reiterated intelligence the merchants were alarmed, and the Governor was applied to, who undertook, the commerce supplying the necessary sums, to fit out a force consisting of two ships of thirty-two guns, one of twenty guns, and two sloops of ten guns each, to attack the Centurion on her station. With this view some of these vessels actually weighed: but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the commerce and the Governor disagreed, so that the enterprise was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the Centurion from the shore was somewhat extraordinary; since the pitch of the Cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once indeed by an indraught of the tide, as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectations and impatience of the Commodore's people every day increased. Finally, on the 20th of June (O.S.), being just a month after their gaining their station, they were relieved out of this state of uncertainty; for at sunrise they discovered a sail from the mast-head, in the south-east quarter. On this a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to descry the other. The Commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half an hour after seven they were near enough to see her

from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galleon fired a gun, and took in her top-gallant sails: this was supposed to be a signal to her consort to hasten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward to amuse her. The Commodore was surprised to find that during all this interval the galleon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion, and resolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was a little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after the galleon hauled up her fore-sail, and brought to under top-sails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the top-gallant-mast head. Mr. Anson, in the mean time, had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken every possible measure both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for the avoiding the confusion and tumult too frequent in actions of this kind.

He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tier, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were continually moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and instead of whole broadsides, with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission; whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages. For it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns and fire with great briskness, till another broadside is ready; but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galleon ~~apace~~, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon from their sight: but whenever it cleared up, they observed her resolutely lying to. Towards one o'clock the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gunshot of the enemy; and the Commodore perceiving the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he saw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chase-guns, to disturb them in their work and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been not to engage before they were within pistol-shot: The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern-chase; and the Centurion getting her sprit-sail-yard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards, in a bravado, rigged their sprit-sail-yard fore and aft likewise.

Soon after the Centurion came abreast of the enemy within pistol shot, keeping to the leeward of them, with a view of preventing their putting before the wind and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and, for the first half-hour, Mr. Anson over-reached the galleon, and lay on her bow, where by the great wideness of his ports he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galleon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats with which the galleon had stuffed her netting took fire and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizzen-top. This accident, supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads, threw the enemy into the utmost terror, and also alarmed the Commodore, for he feared lest the galleon should be burned, and lest he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him. However, the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass which was in flames into the sea.

All this interval the Centurion kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness; while at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to her topmen, who having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havoc with their small-arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the general of the

galleon himself. Thus the action proceeded for at least half an hour; but then the Centurion lost the superiority arising from her original situation, and was close alongside the galleon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer; yet even in this posture the Commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded became so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder, especially as the general, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their confusion was visible from on board the Centurion; for the ships were so near that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with much assiduity to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters; but all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they yielded up the contest; and the galleon's colours being singed off the ensign-staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her main-top-gallant-mast-head.

Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the Nostra Signora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by General Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese, who was the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galleon was much larger than the Centurion, and had five hundred and fifty men, and thirty-six guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight pedreroes in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four-pound ball. She was very well furnished with small-arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work two-inch rope, which was laced over her waist, and was defended by half-pikes. She had sixty-seven men killed in the action, and eighty-four wounded, whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered.

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion having been, for at least eighteen months, the great object of their hopes, it is impossible to describe the transport on board, when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished.

The Commodore appointed the Manilla vessel to be a post ship in his Majesty's service, and gave the command of her to Mr. Saumarez, his first lieutenant, who before night sent on

board the *Centurion* all the Spanish prisoners, except such as were thought the most proper to be retained to assist in navigating the galleon. And now the Commodore learnt from some of these prisoners that the other ship which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the present prize, as was expected, had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had, in all probability, got into the port of Manilla long before the *Centurion* arrived off Cape Spiritu Santo.

The Commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize for the river of Canton, being, the mean time, fully employed in securing his prisoners and in removing the treasure from on board the galleon into the *Centurion*. The last of these operations was too important to be postponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through seas but little known, and where, from the season of the year, very tempestuous weather might be expected, it was of great consequence that the treasure should be sent on board the *Centurion*, which ship, by the presence of the Commander-in-chief, the larger number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtless better provided against all the casualties of winds and seas than the galleon. And the securing the prisoners was a matter of still more consequence, as not only the possession of the treasure, but the lives of the captors, depended thereon. This was, indeed, an article which gave the Commodore much trouble and disquietude, for they were above double the number of his own people; and some of them when they were brought on board the *Centurion*, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation, to be thus beaten by a handful of boys.

The method which was taken to hinder them from rising, was, by placing all but the officers, and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as possible, two hatchways were left open; but then, to avoid any danger that might happen, whilst the *Centurion's* people should be employed upon deck, there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which enclosed each hatchway, on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck; these funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them, and at the same time added greatly to the security of the ship; for they

being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to clamber up: and still to augment that difficulty, four swivel guns, loaded with musket-bullets, were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a sentinel, with lighted match, was posted there ready to fire into the hold amongst them, in case of any disturbance. Their officers, who amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a guard of six men; and the general, as he was wounded, lay in the Commodore's cabin, with a sentinel always with him; every prisoner, too, was sufficiently apprised, that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if, notwithstanding these regulations, any tumult should arise, the small-arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men were armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his clothes when he slept, or when he lay down omitted to have his arms always ready by him.

Thus employed in securing the treasure and the prisoners, the Commodore stood for the river of Canton; and on the 30th of June, at six in the evening, got sight of Cape Delangano. The next day he made the Bashee Islands, and the wind being so far to the northward that it was difficult to weather them, it was resolved to stand through between Grafton and Monmouth Islands, where the passage seemed to be clear; though, in getting through, the sea had a very dangerous aspect, for it rippled and foamed, with all the appearance of being full of breakers, which was still more terrible as it was then night; but the ships got through very safe, the prize keeping ahead; and it was found that the agitation of the sea which had alarmed them had been occasioned only by a strong tide. From hence, the Centurion steering the proper course for the river of Canton, she, on the 8th of July, discovered the island of Supata, the westernmost of the Lema Islands. On the 11th, having taken on board two Chinese pilots, one for the Centurion and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galleon were well ascertained, and it was found that she had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 ounces of virgin silver, besides some cochineal, and a few other commodities, which, however, were but of small account in comparison of the specie. And this being the Commodore's last prize, it hence

appears, that all the treasure taken by the Centurion was not much short of £400,000, independent of the ships and merchandise, which she either burned or destroyed, and which, by the most reasonable estimation, could not amount to so little as £600,000 more; so that the whole damage done the enemy by our squadron did doubtless exceed a million sterling.

CHAPTER XXX.

CONCLUSION OF THE VOYAGE.

THE Commodore, having taken pilots on board, proceeded with the prize for the river of Canton, and on the 14th of July, cast anchor short of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage forming the mouth of that river: this entrance he proposed to stand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger Island, which is a very safe road, secured from all winds. But whilst the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer was sent off from the Mandarin commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris, to examine what the ships were, and whence they came. Mr. Anson informed the officer that his own ship was a man-of-war, belonging to the King of Great Britain, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton river, to shelter himself against the hurricanes, which were then approaching, and that as soon as the monsoon shifted, he should set sail for England. The officer then desired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition were on board, a list of all which, he said, was to be sent to the Government of Canton. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly upon his being told that there were in the Centurion four hundred firelocks, and between three and four hundred barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital, saying, that no ships ever came into Canton river armed in that manner, adding that he durst not set down the whole of this force, lest it should too much alarm the Regency.

After he had finished his inquiries, and was preparing to depart, he desired to leave two custom-house officers behind him; on which the Commodore told him, that though as a

man-of-war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs, or duties of any kind, yet, for the satisfaction of the Chinese, he would permit two of their people to be left on board who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr. Anson mentioned being exempted from all duties, and answered, that the Emperor's duty must be paid by every ship that came into his ports : and it is supposed, that, on this occasion, private directions were given by him to the Chinese pilot, not to carry the Commodore through the Bocca Tigris.

The Bocca Tigris is, a narrow passage, little more than musket-shot over, formed by two points of land, on each of which there is a fort ; that on the starboard-side being a battery on the water's edge with eighteen embrasures ; the fort, on the larboard-side, is a large castle, resembling those old buildings, which, here, in England, we often find distinguished by that name ; it is situated on a high rock, and did not appear to be furnished with more than eight or ten cannon, none of which were supposed to exceed six-pounders.

It is obvious, from the description of these forts, that they could have given no obstruction to Mr. Anson's passage, even if they had been well supplied with gunners and stores ; and, therefore, though the pilot, after the Chinese officer had been on board, refused at first to take charge of the ship, till he had leave from the forts ; yet as it was necessary to get through without any delay, for fear of the bad weather, which was hourly expected, the Commodore weighed on the 15th, and ordered the pilot to carry him by the forts, threatening him that if the ship ran aground, he would instantly hang him up at the yard-arm. The pilot, awed by these threats, carried the ship through safely, the forts not attempting to dispute the passage. Indeed, the poor pilot did not escape the resentment of his countrymen ; for when he came on shore, he was seized and sent to prison, and was rigorously disciplined with a bamboo. However, he found means to get afterwards at Mr. Anson, who, in commiseration of his sufferings, gave him such a sum of money as would at any time have enticed a Chinese to undergo a dozen bastinadoings.

Nor was the pilot the only person that suffered on this occasion ; for the Commodore soon after seeing some royal junks pass by him, from Bocca Tigris towards Canton, he learnt on inquiry that the Mandarin commanding the forts

was a prisoner on board them, that he was already turned out, and was now being carried to Canton, where, it was expected, he would be severely punished for having permitted the ships to pass.

On the 16th of July the Commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton, with a letter for the Viceroy, informing him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port, and that the Commodore himself soon proposed to repair to Canton, to pay a visit to his Excellency. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promised that an answer should be sent to the Commodore the next day. In the mean time Mr. Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galleon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners got to Canton the Regency sent for them, and examined them, inquiring particularly by what means they came into Mr. Anson's power. It luckily happened that, on this occasion, the prisoners were honest enough to declare that, as the Kings of Great Britain and of Spain were at war, they had proposed to themselves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes. And being questioned as to their usage on board, they frankly acknowledged that they had been treated by the Commodore much better than they believed they should have treated him had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who, till then, though they had revered the Commodore's military force, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless freebooter than as one commissioned by the State for the revenge of public injuries.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three Mandarins, with a great number of boats and a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the Commodore the Viceroy of Canton's order for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the river as far as the second bar; and, at the same time, they delivered him a message from the Viceroy, in answer to the letter sent to Canton. The substance of the message was, that the Viceroy desired to be excused from receiving the Commodore's visit during the then excessive hot weather, because the assembling the Mandarins and soldiers necessary to that ceremony would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to see

both the Commodore himself and the English captain of the other ship that was with him. As Mr. Anson knew that an express had been despatched to the court at Pekin, with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the river of Canton, he had no doubt but the principal motive for putting off this visit was, that the Regency at Canton might gain time to receive the Emperor's instructions about their behaviour on this unusual affair.

When the Mandarins had delivered their message, they began to talk to the Commodore about the duties to be paid by his ships; but he immediately told them that he would never submit to any demand of that kind; adding, that no duties were ever demanded of men-of-war by nations accustomed to their reception, and that his master's orders expressly forbade him from paying any acknowledgment for his ships anchoring in any port whatever.

The Mandarins being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, they said they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was, a request to the Commodore that he would release the prisoners he had taken on board the galleon; for that the Viceroy of Canton apprehended the Emperor, his master, might be displeased if he should be informed that persons who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr. Anson was himself extremely desirous to get rid of the Spaniards, having at his first arrival sent about a hundred of them to Macao, and those who remained, which were near four hundred more, were on many accounts a great incumbrance to him. However, to enhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but permitting himself to be prevailed on, he at last told the Mandarins that, to show his readiness to oblige the Viceroy, he would release the prisoners, whenever they, the Chinese, would order boats to fetch them off. This matter being thus adjusted, the Mandarins departed; and on the 28th of July two Chinese junks were sent from Canton to take on board the prisoners, and to carry them to Macao.

Though the ships, in consequence of the Viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily consumption, yet it was impossible that the Commodore could proceed to England without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and naval stores, for his use during the voyage. The procuring this supply was attended with much perplexity.

for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furnish him with biscuit and whatever else he wanted. But a fortnight being elapsed, and nothing brought, the Commodore sent to inquire more particularly into the reasons of this disappointment: and he had soon the vexation to be informed that no order had been procured from the Viceroy to furnish him with sea-stores, as had been pretended; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readiness which had been promised him; nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the least step to comply with their agreement. This was most disagreeable news, and made it suspected that the furnishing the Centurion for her return to Great Britain might prove a more troublesome matter than had been hitherto imagined: especially, too, as the month of September was nearly ended without Mr. Anson's having received any message from the Viceroy of Canton.

The Commodore, towards the end of September, having found out, as has been said, that those who had contracted to supply him with sea provisions and stores had deceived him, and that the Viceroy had not invited him to an interview, according to his promise, he saw it would be impossible for him to surmount the difficulties he was under, without going to Canton, and visiting the Viceroy. Therefore, on the 27th of September, he sent a message to the Mandarin, who attended the Centurion, to inform him that he, the Commodore, intended, on the 1st of October, to proceed in his boat to Canton, adding, that the day after he got there, he should notify his arrival to the Viceroy, and should desire him to fix a time for his audience. This message being delivered to the Mandarin, he returned no other answer than that he would acquaint the Viceroy with the Commodore's intentions.

In the mean time, all things were prepared for this expedition; and the boat's crew which Mr. Anson proposed to take with him were clothed in an uniform-dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames. They were in number eighteen, and a cockswain: they had scarlet jackets and blue silk waistcoats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, besides silver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even asserted, that the payment of the customary duties for the Centurion and her prize would be demanded by the Regency of Canton, and would be insisted on, previous to their granting a permission to victual the ship for the future voyage, the Commodore, who was resolved never to establish

so dishonourable a precedent, took all possible precaution to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their unreasonable pretensions, by having him in their power at Canton. And, therefore, the better to secure his ship, and the great treasure on board her, against their projects, he appointed his first lieutenant, Mr. Brett, to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct; directing him particularly if he, the Commodore, should be detained at Canton, on account of the duties in dispute, to take out the men from the Centurion's prize, and to destroy her, and then to proceed down the river, through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance till he received further orders from Mr. Anson.

These necessary steps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chinese, it would seem as if their deliberations were in some sort perplexed thereby. It is reasonable to imagine that they were in general very desirous of getting the duties to be paid them, not perhaps solely in consideration of the amount of those duties, but to keep up their reputation for address and subtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already so frequently insisted. However, as they now foresaw that they had no other method of succeeding than by violence, and that even against this the Commodore was prepared, they were at last disposed, I conceive, to let the affair drop rather than entangle themselves in a hostile measure.

But, though there is reason to conclude that these were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evasive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered; for when the Commodore, on the morning of the 1st of October, was preparing to set out for Canton, his linguist came to him from the Mandarin, who attended the ship, to tell him that a letter had been received from the Viceroy of Canton, desiring the Commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days. The reality of this message was not then questioned; but in the afternoon of the same day, another linguist came on board, who with much seeming fright told Mr. Anson that the Viceroy had expected him up that day, that the council was assembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him, and that the Viceroy was highly offended at the disappointment, and had sent the Commodore's linguist to prison, chained, supposing that the whole had been owing to the linguist's negligence.

This plausible tale gave the Commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was some treachery designed him, which he could not yet fathom. And though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the least foundation, yet, for reasons best known to themselves, this falsehood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese merchants at Canton, that, three days afterwards, the Commodore received a letter signed by all the supercargoes of the English ships then at that place, expressing their great uneasiness about what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would be offered to his boat if he came thither before the Viceroy was fully satisfied of the mistake. To this letter Mr. Anson replied, that he did not believe there had been a mistake, but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese to prevent his visiting the Viceroy; that, therefore, he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him any insult, as well knowing he should want neither power nor inclination to make them a proper return.

On the 13th of October, the Commodore continuing firm to his resolution, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came on board the *Centurion*, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats and by those of the trading ships, which on this occasion sent their boats to augment his retinue. As he passed by Wampo, where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them but the French, and in the evening he arrived safely at Canton, where he was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no obstruction in getting thither, and thence pretended to conclude that the Viceroy was satisfied about the former mistake, the reality of which they still insisted on. In the conversation which passed upon this occasion, they took care to insinuate that, as soon as the Viceroy should be informed that Mr. Anson was at Canton, which they promised should be done the next morning, they were persuaded a time would be immediately appointed for the visit.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr. Anson, and told him that the Viceroy was then so fully employed in preparing his despatches for Peking, that there was no getting admittance to him at present; but that they had engaged one

of the officers of his court to give them information, as soon as he should be at leisure, when they proposed to notify Mr. Anson's arrival, and endeavour to fix the audience. The Commodore was already too well acquainted with their artifices not to perceive that this was a falsehood; and had he consulted only his own judgment, he would have applied directly to the Viceroy by other hands. But the Chinese merchants had so far prepossessed the supercargoes of our ships with chimerical fears, that they, the supercargoes, were extremely apprehensive of being embroiled with the government, and of suffering in their interest if those measures were taken, which appeared to Mr. Anson at that time to be the most prudent: and therefore, lest the malice and double-dealing of the Chinese might have given rise to some sinister incident, which would be afterwards laid at his door, he resolved to continue passive as long as it should appear that he lost no time by thus suspending his own opinion. In pursuance of this resolution, he proposed to the English that he would engage not to take any immediate step himself for gaining admittance to the Viceroy, provided the Chinese, who contracted to furnish his provisions, would let him see that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost despatch. But if, by the time when all was in readiness to be shipped off, which it was supposed would be in about forty days, the merchants should not have procured the government's permission to send it on board, then the Commodore was determined to apply to the Viceroy himself. These were the terms Mr. Anson thought proper to offer to quiet the uneasiness of the supercargoes; and, notwithstanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged; nor would the Chinese agree to the proposal, till the Commodore had consented to pay for every article he bespoke before it was put in hand. However, at last; the contract being past, it was some satisfaction to the Commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and being himself on the spot, he took care to hasten them as much as possible.

During this interval, in which the stores and provisions were getting ready, the merchants continually entertained Mr. Anson with accounts of their various endeavours to procure a licence from the Viceroy, and their frequent disappointments: this was now a matter of amusement to the Commodore, as he was fully satisfied there was not one word

of truth in anything they said. But, when all was completed, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time, too, the north-east monsoon was set in, he then resolved to demand an audience of the Viceroy, as he was persuaded that without this ceremony, the grant of a permission to take his stores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr. Anson sent one of his officers to the Mandarin who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton, with a letter directed to the Viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the Mandarin, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chinese, and promised that the Viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer it was not necessary he should wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the Commodore himself.

When Mr. Anson first determined to write this letter, he had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter, as he was well aware that none of the Chinese usually employed as linguists could be relied on; but he at last prevailed with Mr. Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese perfectly well, to accompany his officer.

Two days after the sending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. On the first alarm, Mr. Anson went thither with his officers and his boat's crew to aid the Chinese. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a sailor's shed, and that by the slightness of the buildings, and the awkwardness of the Chinese, it was getting head apace. However, he perceived that by pulling down some of the adjacent sheds, it might easily be extinguished; and particularly observed, that it was then running along a wooden cornice, which blazed fiercely, and would immediately communicate the flame to a great distance. He ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice: this was presently attempted, and would have been soon executed; but in the meantime he was told that as there was no Mandarin there, who alone has a power to direct on these occasions, the Chinese would make him, the Commodore, answerable for whatever should be pulled down by his command. Hereupon Mr. Anson and his attendants desisted; and he sent them to the English factory, to assist in securing the Company's treasure and effects. At last a Mandarin came out of the

city, attended by four or five hundred firemen : these made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses : but by that time the fire had greatly extended itself, and was got amongst the merchant's warehouses, and the Chinese firemen wanting both skill and spirit, were incapable of checking its violence ; so that its fury increased upon them, and it was feared that the whole city would be destroyed.

In this general confusion, the Viceroy himself came hither, and the Commodore was sent to, and was entreated to afford his assistance, being told that he might take any measures he should think most prudent in the present emergency. Upon this message he went thither a second time, carrying with him about forty of his people ; who, in the sight of the whole city, exerted themselves after so extraordinary a manner as in that country was altogether without example. For, behaving with the agility and boldness peculiar to sailors, they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings amongst which they wrought. By their resolution and activity, the fire was soon extinguished, to the amazement of the Chinese.

The fire, though at last luckily extinguished, did great mischief during the time it continued : for it consumed a hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses, so that the damage amounted to an immense sum : and one of the Chinese merchants, well known to the English, whose name was Succoy, was supposed for his own share to have lost near two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Whilst the Commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, several of the most considerable Chinese merchants came to Mr. Anson, to desire that he would let each of them have one of his men to guard their warehouses and dwelling-houses. Mr. Anson granted them this request ; and all the men that he thus furnished behaved much to the satisfaction of the merchants, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity.

By this means, the resolution of the English in mastering the fire, and their trusty and prudent conduct, where they were employed as safeguards, was the general subject of conversation amongst the Chinese. And the next morning many of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commodore to thank him for his assistance ; frankly owning to him that he had preserved their city from being totally consumed. Soon after, too, a message came to the Commodore from the Vice

roy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience; which sudden resolution, in a matter that had so long been agitated in vain, was also owing to the signal services performed by Mr. Anson and his people at the fire.

At ten o'clock in the morning on the day appointed, a Mandarin came to the Commodore, to let him know that the Viceroy was prepared and expected him; on which the Commodore and his retinue immediately set out. As soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of two hundred soldiers ready to receive him; these attended him to the great parade, before the Emperor's palace, where the Viceroy then resided. In this parade, a body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, were drawn up under arms, who made a very fine appearance, they being all of them new-clothed for this ceremony. Mr. Anson with his retinue having passed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the Viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the Emperor's chair of state, with all his council of Mandarins attending. Here there was a vacant seat prepared for the Commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was ranked the third in order from the Viceroy, there being above him only the two chiefs of the law and of the treasury, who in the Chinese government have precedence of all military officers.

When the Commodore was seated, he addressed himself to the Viceroy by his interpreter, and began with exciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding that he imputed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those he had employed; and that he had therefore no other means left than to send, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this, the Viceroy interrupted the interpreter, and bade him assure Mr. Anson that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton was from that letter. Mr. Anson then proceeded, and told him that the subjects of the King of Great Britain trading to China had complained to him, the Commodore, of the vexatious impositions, both of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to submit by reason of the difficulty of getting access to the Mandarins, who alone could grant them redress; that it was his, Mr. Anson's duty, as an officer of the King of Great Britain, to lay before the Viceroy these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped the Viceroy would take into

consideration, and would give orders that hereafter there should be no just reason for complaint.

Here Mr. Anson paused, and waited some time in expectation of an answer; but nothing being said, he asked his interpreter if he was certain the Viceroy understood what he had urged; the interpreter told him he was certain it was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it.

And now the Commodore having despatched the business with which the officers of the East India Company had intrusted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the Viceroy that the proper season was already set in for returning to Europe, and that he wanted only a licence to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready; and that as soon as this should be granted him, and he should have gotten his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the river of Canton, and to make the best of his way for England. The Viceroy replied to this, that the licence should be immediately issued, and that everything should be ordered on board the following day. After which the Commodore, thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave.

Thus the Commodore, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair, which for the preceding four months had given him much disquietude. Indeed he was highly pleased with procuring a licence for the shipping off his stores and provisions, as thereby he was enabled to return to Great Britain with the first of the monsoons, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected.

In pursuance of the promises of the Viceroy, the provisions were begun to be sent on board the day succeeding the audience; and four days after the Commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion. And now all the preparations for putting to sea were pursued with so much vigilance, and were so soon completed, that the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river, passing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th.

While the ships lay here, the merchants of Macao finished their purchase of the galleon, for which they refused to give more than 6000 dollars: this was greatly short of her value; but the impatience of the Commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no strangers, prompted them to insist on these unequal terms. Mr. Anson had learnt enough from the English at Canton, to conjecture that the war with Spain was still continued; and that, probably, the French might engage

in the assistance of Spain before he could arrive in Great Britain ; and, therefore, knowing that no intelligence could come to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was resolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own success, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him : for these reasons, he, to avoid all delay, accepted of the sum offered for the galleon ; and she being delivered up to the merchants the 15th of December, 1743, the *Centurion*, the same day, got under sail, on her return to England. On the 3rd of January, she came to an anchor at Prince's Island, in the Straits of Sunda, and continued there, wooding and watering, till the 8th ; whence she weighed, and stood for the Cape of Good Hope, where, on the 11th of March, she anchored in Table Bay.

Here the Commodore continued till the 3rd of April, 1744, when, having completed his water and provision, he on that day weighed, and put to sea. The 19th of April, they saw the island of St. Helena, which, however, they did not touch at, but stood on their way ; and arriving in soundings about the beginning of June, they, on the 12th of June, got sight of the *Lizard* ; and the 15th, in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came safe to an anchor at Spithead, after an absence of three years and nine months.

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